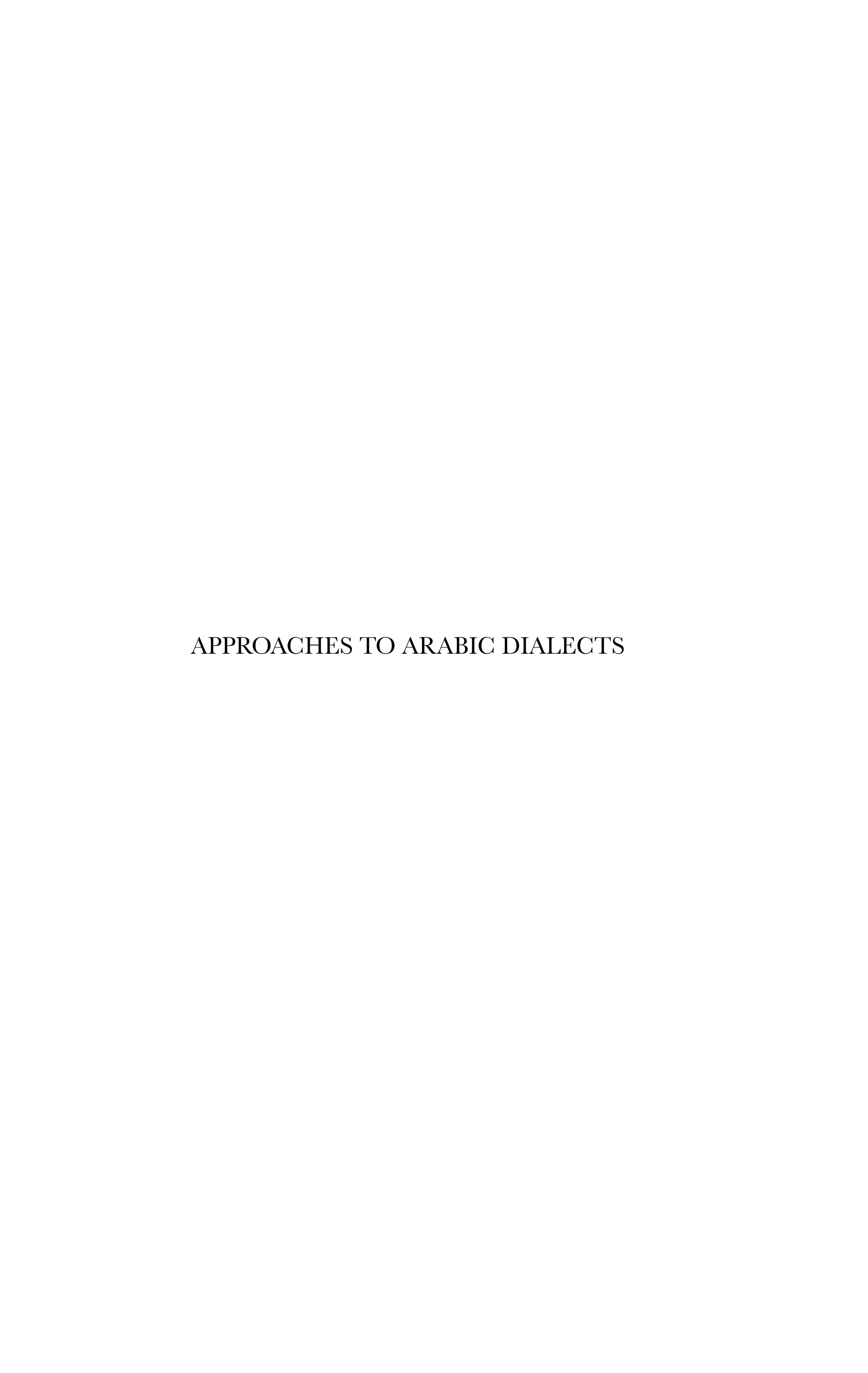
MARTINE HAAK, RUDOLF DE JONG & KEES VERSTEEGH (EDS.)

APPROACHES TO ARABIC DIALECTS

A Collection of Articles presented to Manfred Woidich on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday





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STUDIES IN SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS

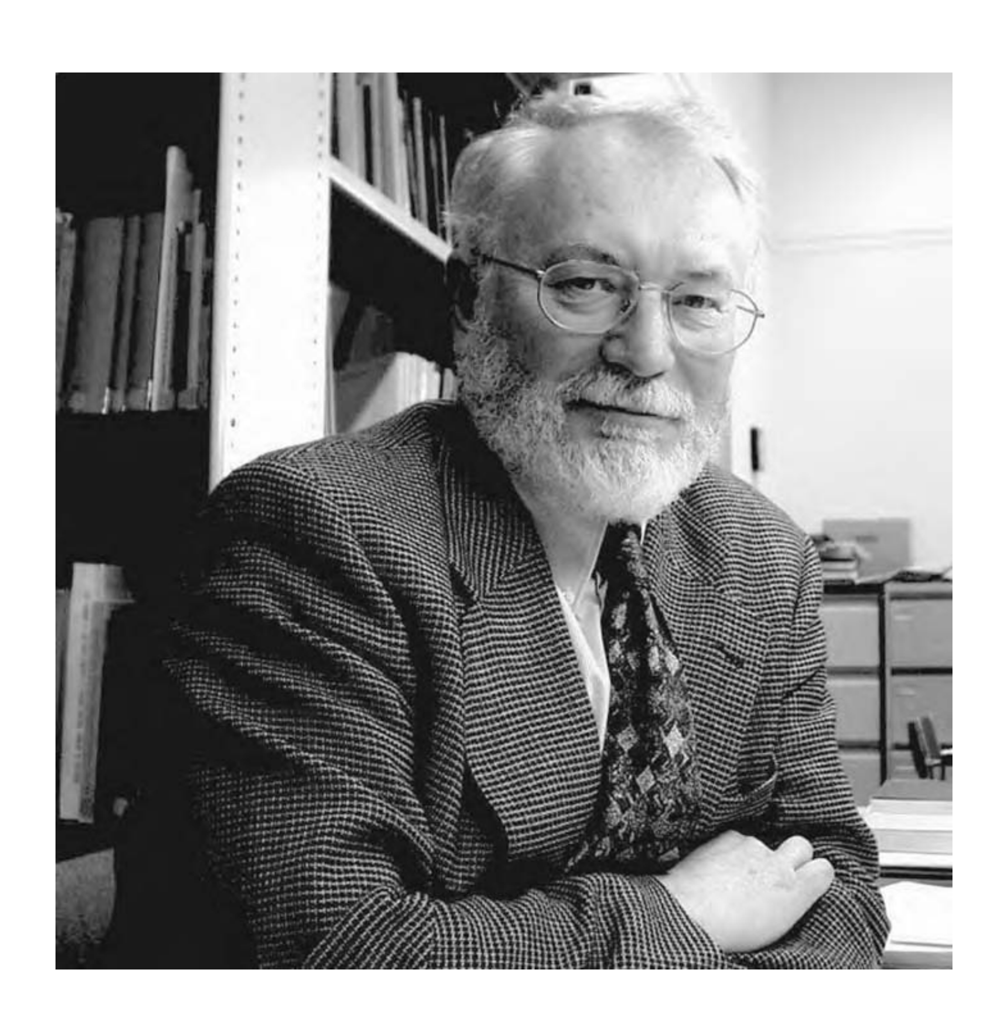
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T. MURAOKA AND C.H.M. VERSTEEGH

VOLUME XXXVIII

APPROACHES TO ARABIC DIALECTS





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CONTENTS

PREFACE

To find colleagues and friends of Manfred Woidich willing to contribute to the collection of articles now in hand was not the most arduous of tasks. When we first started to approach colleagues on the subject of a *Festschrift* for Manfred—this was right under his nose, during the fourth AIDA conference in Marrakech in April of 2000—their reactions were heartwarming and encouraging. In part, this enthusiasm to contribute must have been due to the scholarly standing of Manfred Woidich. But perhaps even more so to his personality—modest, ambitious only to work hard and preferably in the background—which, almost as a matter of paradox, earned him a central position in the field of Arabic dialectology as one of its leading figures.

The bibliography of Manfred Woidich's publications bears testimony to his achievements in the field. He has written extensively on many aspects of Arabic dialects, from negative constructions to folk tales, from diglossia to phonology. His didactic materials for the study of Egyptian and Standard Arabic have become the preferred teaching manual in many language courses. The dialect atlas of the Egyptian dialects, which he published together with Peter Behnstedt, already stands as a monument of research in Arabic dialectology. Their joint introduction to dialect geography, due to appear in the *Handbuch der Orientalistik* series at Brill's, will no doubt become essential reading for anyone working in this field. The present collection is an homage to his achievements.

As editors, we have deliberately chosen to include only articles on topics in the field of Arabic dialectology rather than inviting all friends and colleagues working in different fields. In the resulting volume various approaches to Arabic dialectology are represented, reflecting the central themes of Manfred Woidich's research. The value of his work lies in the combination of his deep respect for fine detail—and the patience to strive for the full hundred percent while collecting field-work data—with a broad interest in languages in general, both on the theoretical and practical level. He keeps himself completely with novel approaches in general linguistics, eager to apply new insights to as yet unanalysed phenomena; he is a true

polyglot, in the sense of someone who loves language as well as languages.

Although unassuming in his professional activities, Manfred will always take pride in hosting a dinner party at his home, serving pasta *al dente* with home-made pesto sauce, lavishly accompanied by exquisite Frankish wines—or German beer for those who prefer—all in the jovial atmosphere of Middle Eastern hospitality. All three of us, in our different capacities, have had intensive contacts with Manfred over the years: research, teaching, administration, the general state of affairs in Dutch Oriental studies and other topics, but the highlights of these contacts have always been the dinner parties.

And yes, there is always a lot of talk about Arabic dialects. He never misses an opportunity to point out an especially interesting Arabic expression, usually from one of his beloved Egyptian dialects. With his encyclopaedic knowledge of these dialects he has acquired quite a reputation as a latter-day Professor Higgins, even in Egypt. He is known to have asked complete strangers in the Nile Valley or the Delta whether their mother came from some unknown village in Upper Egypt—and he would usually 'guess' right, leaving his anonymous 'victim' and those present in a state of utter bewilderment. He is a true master at finding a parallel between a word he hears in any context with a word or expression from some Egyptian dialect—a habit the Moroccan waiters in the restaurants he visited during the Marrakech conference became well aware of.

There is always a sense of finality to a list of publications in a *Festschrift*, which in this case would create quite the wrong impression. We have therefore ventured to add an item 'to appear', the Cairene Egyptian grammar, which in many respects will sum up his formidable knowledge about the dialect of Cairo; it may well have appeared by the time this book is presented to him. As we write these lines, we are aware that the occasion of his birthday itself may not be very pleasant for him: an entire afternoon wasted with festivities, while he could have been at his computer, working on yet another publication on the dialect of il-Bašandi in the Dakhla oasis. We sincerely hope that he will forgive us for this intrusion when he has had a chance to read the articles collected in this volume, and find the festive afternoon memorable at least.

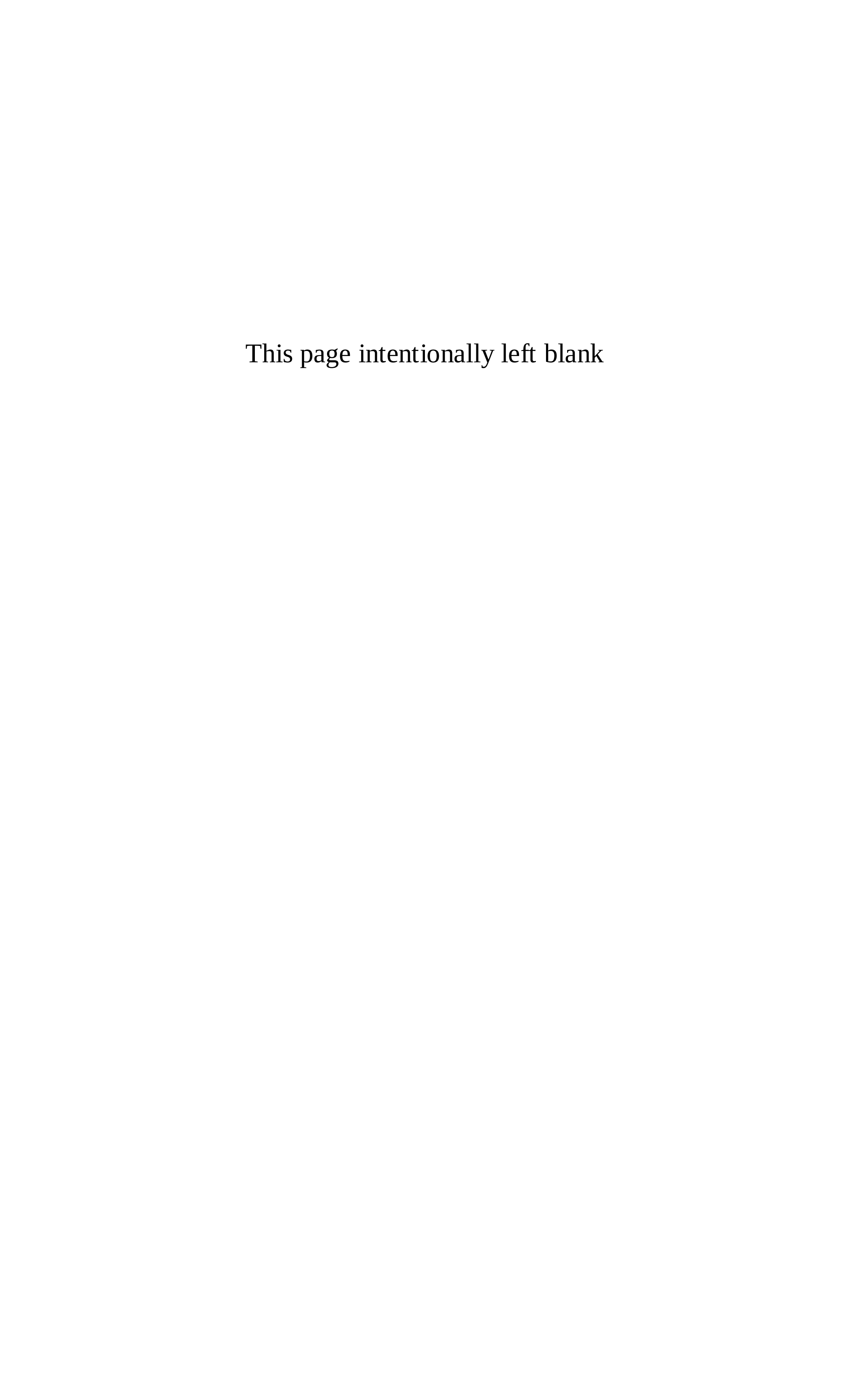
One of Manfred's first experiences with dialect differences must have been when his classmates in Germany would tease him with his *ach-Laut* whenever he had come to the blackboard to be heard

by the teacher, calling "*Woidich, freu dich!*" [voidix froi dix]. Today, on his sixtieth birthday, and now that he has been an inspiring teacher and a leading scholar himself for a respectable number of years, on behalf of all contributors to this volume, we should like to make this our wish and add

kullə sana w-inta ṭayyib, ya Farīd!

Diemen—The Hague—Batenburg
January 2003

Martine Haak
Rudolf de Jong
Kees Versteegh


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THE ARABIC OF RABĪʿA: A *QƏLTU* DIALECT OF NORTH-WESTERN IRAQ

Farida Abu Haidar
London

1. *Introduction*

"Not too long ago, in the fifties and sixties, our knowledge of Egyptian Arabic was practically limited to one dialect, i.e. the dialect of Cairo. It was considered the Egyptian Arabic dialect *per se*" (Woidich 1994:493). This statement can apply to several other regions in the Arab world where the dialect of the capital city is sometimes taken to be representative of the speech of the country as a whole. In fact, for a long time, whenever anyone spoke of Iraqi Arabic they usually meant the dialect of Baghdad. Manfred Woidich has been instrumental in bringing to our notice varieties of Egyptian Arabic, besides the dialect of Cairo. Similarly, Otto Jastrow (1978), covering another corner of the Middle East where Arabic is the principal language, has considerably broadened our knowledge of Iraqi Arabic by providing descriptions of some of the major *qəltu* dialects of the region and identifying several hitherto unknown ones. Jastrow collected valuable data *in situ* long before major population movement to and from the *qəltu*-speaking region of northern Iraq led to dialect loss and dialect shift, particularly in small towns and villages.

Jastrow (1994:121–122) has divided the *qəltu* dialects of northern Iraq and Anatolia into six main groups: Mardin, Siirt, Diyarbakir, Kurdistan, Tigris, and Euphrates. He has also subdivided the Tigris dialects into three branches: Mosul, Tikrit, and the non-Muslim dialects of central and southern Iraq. In this study I wish to survey some points of phonology and morphology in the spoken Arabic of Rabīʿa, a dialect of the Mosul branch of the Tigris group.[1]

[1] The present study is the first part of a project on the spoken Arabic of the region of Jabal Sinjar in Iraq.

Rabīʿa is a small town in the province of Mosul in Iraq, just inside the border with Syria. It is situated at approximately 100 km north-west of the city of Mosul on the railway line connecting Mosul with Aleppo.[2] Rabīʿa, up until the 1990s, was a fairly thriving town whose predominantly Muslim, Arabic-speaking inhabitants maintained close contact with neighbouring towns in Syria, and especially Tall Kushik, only 5 km from Rabīʿa, and the nearest town to it. After the Gulf War and the introduction of border patrols, lack of freedom of movement and constant political upheavals in northern Iraq forced most of the young and able-bodied to leave Rabīʿa.[3] Many fled to southern Turkey where they found refuge among the Arabic-speaking communities of Anatolia. Others made the journey to western Europe as asylum seekers.

The original inhabitants of Rabīʿa are sedentary, and their livelihood has depended for generations on agriculture and sheep-rearing. Over the years the sedentary population was joined by people of bedouin stock, mostly of Šammari origin, who moved north in search of fertile pastures for their flocks, and settled in Rabīʿa and neighbouring villages. Differences between those who are of sedentary origin and others of bedouin provenance are reflected in their speech as well as in their religious observance. Those of bedouin origin are Shiite and speak *gələt*[4] Arabic, while the sedentary inhabitants of the town itself are mostly Sunni, their speech being a variety of *qəltu* Arabic.

The present study deals only with Rabīʿa *qəltu* Arabic (RA), *qəltu* varieties being the speech of a large number of the Arabic-speaking Muslim and non-Muslim inhabitants of the province of Mosul.[5] My findings are based on five hours of recordings of the speech of seven one-time inhabitants of Rabīʿa, as well as on direct one-to-one interviews, carried out between October 2000 and August 2001. The two women and five men, on whose speech this study is based, left Iraq

[2] Right up until the Iran-Iraq war, trains along this line used to start their journey in Baghdad, their final destination being Istanbul.

[3] Because of large-scale emigration and lack of up-to-date records, it is impossible to know the number of inhabitants that still live in Rabīʿa.

[4] Blanc (1964:30), who coined the terms *gələt* and *qəltu*, transcribed them as *gelet* and *qeltu*, where *e* stands for IPA *ə*. Some scholars, however, prefer to transcribe them as *gilit* and *qiltu*.

[5] Johnstone (1975:89) states that *qəltu* dialects "until fairly recently were spoken at least as far south as Baghdad". One should add that for a long time the Arabic spoken in the province of Mosul consisted only of *qəltu* dialects, spoken along with varieties of Neo-Aramaic.

between 1995 and 1998. The two oldest are a married couple living in Turkey. The husband was born in 1962 and his wife in 1963. Among the other five are a younger married couple, born in 1971 and 1973, now living in Switzerland. The remaining three men, born in 1974, 1978 and 1980, are at present in Germany. Four of the men had been shepherds in Iraq. The fifth had worked on his family's small holding where they planted mainly wheat and barley. The two women were housewives. Only two of the men and the older woman had had elementary education, ranging from two to three years.[6]

2. *Phonology*

2.1 *Consonants*

Like all *qəltu* dialects, RA is characterised by the retention of uvular plosive *q* and velar plosive *k*, allophones of *gələt g* and *č* respectively. Thus compare:

	RA	Baghdad
q:	*qarāyəb*	*garāyəb* 'relatives'
	halqadd	*halgadd* 'so much'
	tsəwwaq	*tsawwag* 'to buy provisions, he bought provisions'
	xərqa	*xərga* 'rag'
	rqāq	*rgāg* 'thin, flaky bread' (a speciality of northern Iraq)
k:	*klēb*	*člāb* 'dogs'
	bəki	*bəča* 'to cry'
	ḥakayt	*ḥəčēt* 'I spoke'
	fəkk	*fačč* 'jaw'
	samak	*səmač* 'fish'

g and *č*, however, are realized in some loanwords in RA, e.g., *gəllābəyya* 'tunic' (< Egyptian Arabic, where *g* is the reflex of MSA *ǧ*). *g* can also be found in loans from Turkish where *k* of the donor language becomes *g* in RA,[7] as, for example:

---

[6] In dialect studies *in situ* I invariably rely on data from informants belonging to different generations. However, as I was unable to go to Rabīʿa in person, my choice of informants was limited to those I could find outside Iraq, who all happened to be under the age of forty. Because of population movement after the Gulf War it has become increasingly difficult to study dialects *in situ* in some of the more inaccessible regions of Iraq.

[7] The following loanwords occur also in the Arabic of Mosul and Baghdad.

RA	Turkish
gōmlag	*gömlek* 'vest'
yalag	*yelek* 'waistcoat, sleeveless cardigan'
rang	*renk* 'colour'

k becomes *g* before *b* in the form *akbar* 'bigger, larger', realized in RA as *agbar*.[8]

č occurs in loanwords which include the following: *čāy* 'tea', *čməntu* 'cement' and *qačaġ* 'smuggled, illegal'.

In a number of *gələt* and *qəltu* dialects *p* can occur in some forms, borrowed either from Turkish or European languages. Phoneme *p*, however, does not occur as frequently in RA as it does in the Arabic of Baghdad for example. An example of a form with *p* in RA is *paṣapōrṭ* 'passport'. The following are a few examples where *p* has been preserved in the dialects of Baghdad and Mosul, but not in comparable RA forms:

RA	Mosul	Baghdad
banṭarūn	*panṭaġōn*	*panṭarūn* 'trousers'
bərdāyi	*paġdāyi*	*parda* 'curtain'
bīkāb	*pīkāp*	*pīkāp* 'pick-up truck'

In a few borrowings from Western languages *b* of the donor languages is realized as *p* in *gələt* varieties and in the Mosul dialect also. The two most frequently occurring examples of *b* > *p* are *pāṣ* 'bus' and *pāysəkəl* 'bicycle'. In RA these forms are realized as *bāṣ* and *bāysəkəl* respectively.

Interdentals are usually realized as dentals in RA, with *ṯ* > *t*, *ḏ* > *d* and *ḏ̣* > *ḍ*:[9]

Mosul	RA
məṯəl	*mətəl* 'like'
ṯnēn	*tnēn* 'two'
hāḏa	*hāda* 'this'
ḏīb	*dīb* 'wolf'
ḏ̣aġabtūnu	*ḍarabtūnu* 'I hit him'
ḥaḏ̣ḏ̣	*ḥaḍḍ* 'luck, fate'

[8] This is the only example of *k* > *g* in my data.

[9] Dentals for interdentals is a characteristic of the speech of Christian Iraqis. Jastrow (1994:120) found this phenomenon also "in most Jewish dialects of Iraqi Kurdistan, in the dialect of the Jews of Nusaybin/Qāməšli . . . and in the Diyarbakir group in Anatolia". Jastrow (1994), moreover, points out that there are in the *qəltu*-speaking region of Southern Turkey, Northern Iraq and Northern Syria as many as three different sound shifts involving interdentals.

There were no instances of *ṯ* > *s*, *ḏ* > *z* or *ḏ̣* > *ẓ* in the idiolects surveyed here.

As far as MSA *ḍ* and *ẓ* are concerned, most Iraqi speech varieties do not distinguish between the two. In *gələt* varieties, and in some *qəltu* dialects, notably Mosul, the two MSA phonemes have the same sound and are realized as a continuant, whereas in Christian Baghdadi Arabic, for example, as well as in RA, they are realized as a stop.[10] This complete loss of phonemic distinction between MSA *ḍ* and *ẓ* is not characteristic of Iraqi dialects alone, but obtains also in some other varieties of Arabic (Beeston 1970:18, n. 1).

The *r* > *ġ* shift, a salient feature of the Tigris group as a whole (Jastrow 1994:120), does not occur in RA. Thus compare:

Mosul	RA
ġəḥtu	*rəḥtu* 'I went'
ġəbi	*rabi* 'he grew up'
aġnab	*arnab* rabbit'
kaġġāt	*karrāt* 'times, instances'
ṭāġ	*ṭār* 'it flew'
ḥağēyəġ	*ḥağēyər* 'stones, pieces of rock'

An interesting phenomenon in RA is the shift *n* > *l* in the form *ġalam* 'sheep'.[11] Elsewhere in the region the MSA form *ġanam* has been preserved.

As in a number of dialects of the Tigris group, *s* and *ṣ* in RA become *z* and *ẓ* in the contiguity of *b*, as in the forms *zbūʿ* 'week' (*gələt sbūʿ*), *zbēyəʿ* 'weeks' and *ẓbāʿi* 'my finger' (*gələt əṣbaʿi*). *s* and *ṣ* are retained where they are separated from *b* by a vowel, as in *asēbīʿ* 'weeks', the more formal plural of *zbūʿ*, and *aṣābəʿ* 'fingers'.

The alveolar affricate *ğ* is realized as *ž* by some informants, due perhaps to Syrian influence. The following forms were heard with both *ğ* and its Levantine allophone *ž*:

ğəbb and *žəbb* (pl. *ğbēb/žbēb*) 'well, watering-hole'
ḥāğēyər and *ḥažēyər* 'pieces of rock'
ṣāğ and *ṣāž* 'griddle (for baking bread)'

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[10] Transcribed as *ḏ̣* and *ḍ* respectively.

[11] Procházka (2002) has found that the *n* > *l* shift occurs in the Arabic of southern Turkey. He gives as an example Turkish *dönüm* > *dlūm* (pl. *dlūmāt*) 'a unit of measurement'.

MSA *ġ* in *ġasal* 'to wash' is realized as *x* in RA, thus: *xasīl* 'washing', *xasalət* 'she washed', etc. *x* < *ġ* occurs also in the Arabic of Baghdad, but not in the dialect of Mosul where MSA *ġ* is preserved.

The pharyngeal fricative ʿ is sometimes elided and followed by a long vowel, as in the following examples:

> *mōrəf* 'I don't know (< *mā aʿrəf* or *ma aʿrəf*)'
> *bāxəd āṭi* 'I take and give (< *bāxəd aʿṭi*)'
> *yaʿməl mā wēḥəd* 'he works with someone' (< *yaʿməl maʿa wēḥəd*).

In this last example the first ʿ is not elided.

As in a number of *qəltu* dialects, *h* is elided in the form *əšhər* 'months' when it is preceded by the cardinal numbers 3 to 10, e.g. *tlat əšər* 'three months', *sətt əšər* 'six months', etc. In *gələt* dialects *h* is usually retained.

2.2 *Vowels*

2.2.1 *Short vowels*

The short vowels in RA are *a* and *ə* in medial position and *a, i* and *u* in final position.

a in medial position occurs in stressed and unstressed open syllables: *waraqāyi* 'piece of paper', *balaḥa* 'date, palm-tree', *manāra* 'minaret', *baʿəd* 'after', *ḥawīs* 'clothes', *labasət* 'she wore'.

a occurs in closed syllables in a guttural or emphatic environment, or where it is in the contiguity of *r* and a back vowel: *maʿǧūn* '(tomato) paste', *karra* 'once', *ballūṭa* 'acorn', *ḥayyi* 'snake', *ḥabbi* 'grain', *baṭṭa* 'duck', *šqadd* 'how much?'.

a occurs in final position where the preceding consonant is a guttural, an emphatic or *r*: *karra* 'once', *xərqa* 'rag', *səyyāra* 'car', *ballūṭa* 'acorn', *balaḥa* 'date, palm-tree', *ṭaqṭaqa* 'noise'.

ə occurs in closed syllables: *ḥəlwi* 'pretty [fem.sg.]', *wəḥdi* 'one [fem.sg.]', *nəǧmāyi* 'star', *ǧəbb* 'well, watering-hole', *ǧəwwa* 'below, underneath', *mənǧal* 'scythe', *səyyāra* 'car', *nəzzēli rəḥḥāli* 'people constantly on the move [lit. people who stay the night and then move on]', *qabəl* 'before', *baʿəd* 'after', *ḥarəb* 'war'.

There are, however, in my data two forms with medial *a* where *ə* might have been expected. These are *madrasi* 'school' and *fatti* 'broth with pieces of bread'. This could be because both forms are loanwords, the first from MSA and the second, a culinary speciality, from outside Rabīʿa.

In vCCaC forms referring to colour, the initial vowel is *ə* in non-emphatic, non-guttural environments. Thus compare: *əswad* 'black', but *aḥmar* 'red', *axḍar* 'green', *aẓraq* 'blue', *abyaḍ* 'white'.

i occurs in word-final position following non-gutturals and non-emphatics: *sani* 'year', *nəğmāyi* 'star', *ḥəlwi* 'pretty [fem.sg.]', *wəḥdi* 'one [fem.sg.]', *xāli* 'maternal aunt', *qaryi* 'village'.

u occurs in 1st. ps. sg. perfect verbs: *qəltu* 'I said', *šəftu* 'I saw', *samaʿtu* 'I heard', *nasaytu* 'I forgot'.

u occurs also as a suffixed 3rd ps. sg. pronoun: *samaʿnānu* 'we heard it', *ʿaṣaru* 'he squeezed it', *abūnu* 'his father', *baytu* 'his house'.

In the *qəltu* dialects of the Tigris group the final vowel of the feminine morpheme is not elided in the construct state. In *gələt* dialects, on the other hand, the comparable vowel is invariably elided. Thus compare:

qəltu-Iraqi	Baghdad	Mosul	RA
qəṣṣa	*quṣṣṭa*	*qəṣṣətu*	*qəṣṣətu* 'his story/tale'
ḥadīqa	*ḥadīqta*	*ḥadīqətu*	*ḥadīqətu* 'his garden'
səyyāra	*səyyārathum*	*səyyāġətəm*	*səyyārətən* 'their car'

Similarly, on the affixation of pronominal suffixes to the form *māl* 'of, belonging to' an anaptyctic vowel is added in RA and other Tigris branch *qəltu* dialects. No such vowel occurs in *gələt* Arabic when the pronoun is in the singular. Thus compare:

	Baghdad	RA
	mālti	*māləti* 'mine'
	māltak	*mālətak* 'yours [masc.sg.]'
	māltəč	*mālətki* 'yours [fem.sg.]'
	mālta	*mālətu* 'his'
But	*mālatna*	*mālətna* 'ours'
	mālatkum	*mālətkən* 'yours [comm.pl.]'
	mālathum	*mālətən* 'theirs'

According to Johnstone (1975:91), "In very few dialects can there occur a series of short open syllables", and "in the dialect of Tikrit the vowel of the post-initial syllable is elided". Johnstone gives among his examples *katbat* 'she wrote' and *waqfu* 'they stood'. In RA, however, the short vowel of the second syllable is not elided, so that the above two examples are usually *katabət* 'she wrote' and *waqafu* 'they stood'. Compare also:

Baghdad	RA
səmʿaw	*samaʿu* 'they heard'
ḥəlbat	*ḥalabət* 'she milked'
ləbsat	*labasət* 'she got dressed'

Johnstone (1975:92) states that in Tikrit Arabic "there are no forms in which a final consonant cluster occurs". One should point out here, that in most Iraqi Arabic dialects, be they of the *qəltu* or *gələt* group, an anaptyctic vowel occurs invariably between the two final consonants of comparable MSA CvCC forms. Thus:

MSA	Baghdad	RA
bard	*barəd*	*barəd* 'cold'
baʿd	*baʿad*	*baʿəd* 'after'
ṭabl	*ṭabul*	*ṭabəl* 'drum'
ḥuzn	*ḥəzən*	*ḥazən* 'sorrow'

2.2.2 *Long vowels*

The long vowels in RA are *ē*, *ī*, *ā*, *ū*, and occasionally *ō*, all occurring in medial position.

ā and *ē*: A salient feature of all *qəltu* dialects is the *ʾimāla* (*ā* > *ē*) that distinguishes this group of dialects from *gələt* Iraqi Arabic. *ʾImāla* is a feature that is widespread in RA. Thus compare:

Baghdad	RA
nāʿəm	*nēʿəm* 'soft'
nsāʿəd	*nsēʿəd* 'we help'
wāḥəd	*wēḥəd* 'one'
fawātəḥ	*fawētəḥ* 'wakes [pl. of *fātəḥa*]'
ḥamāya	*ḥamēyi* 'my brother-in-law'

ʾImāla does not occur in post-guttural, post-emphatic environments or in the contiguity of *r* with a back vowel. Thus: *qāl* 'to say, he said', *xāli* 'my maternal uncle', *nahār* 'day', *naṣāra* 'Christians', *ḥaṭṭābīn* 'wood gatherers'.

ī: Vowel *ī* occurs mainly in adjectives of the CaCīC type and plurals of the CaCēCīC type, e.g. CaCīC: *kabīr* 'big', *katīr* 'numerous', *baʿīd* 'far', *qarīb* 'near', *xafīf* 'light', *ḥawīs* 'clothes'.[12]

[12] This last form is unusual. In the Mosul dialect and the Arabic of Christians of Baghdad and Basra the word for 'clothes' is *ḥwēs*.

CaCv̄CīC: *dakēkīn* ‘shops’, *ḥawēwīn* ‘animals’, *xawērīf* ‘sheep’.

ū: RA *ū*, as in *abūyi* ‘my father’, *axūyi* ‘my brother’, *aqūl* ‘I say’, *ašūf* ‘I see’, is sometimes the equivalent of *ō* in comparable forms in the Mosul dialect. Thus compare:

Mosul	RA
zbōʿ	*zbūʿ* ‘week’
tannōġ	*tannūr* ‘earthenware oven [for baking bread]’
ballōṭ	*ballūṭ* ‘acorn’
maʿǧōn	*maʿǧūn* ‘(tomato) paste’
malḏ̣ōm	*malḍūm* ‘dried okra threaded with string’

ō: Long *ō* is rare, but can occur sometimes in loanwords, e.g., *gōm-lak* ‘vest’, *bəz-zōr* ‘by force’. I also found in my data two compound forms with medial *ō*, *mōrəf* ‘I don’t know (< *mā aʿrəf*)’ and *lōxər* ‘the other (< MSA *al-āxar*)’. Long medial *ō* can also be heard in *ašlōn* ‘how?’ although this forms seems to be in free variation with *kayf*.[13]

2.2.3 *Diphthongs*

Diphthongs *aw* and *ay* occur in RA where *ō* and *ē* might be expected. Thus compare:

Mosul	RA
mōṣəl	*mawṣəl* ‘Mosul’
mōt	*mawt* ‘death’
dōšak	*dawšak* ‘mattress’
hōnīki	*hawnik* ‘there’
yəǧōn	*yəǧawn* ‘they come’
bēt	*bayt* ‘house’
šēx	*šayx* ‘venerable old man’
baqētu	*baqaytu* ‘I stayed’
ḥakēna	*ḥakayna* ‘we spoke, we talked’

According to Jastrow (1994:120) “the diphthongs *ay* and *aw* have been preserved in many *qəltu* dialects”.

[13] The use of *kayf* is no doubt due to contact with Syrian Arabic where Syrian *kîf* is adapted to the sound system of RA. See following paragraph on diphthongs.

3. *Morphology*

3.1 *Verbs*

As in all *qəltu* dialects, the 1st ps. sg. of the perfect in RA ends in *-tu*, as, for example, *rəḥtu* 'I went', *samaʿtu* 'I heard', *tʿəllamtu* 'I learnt', *tsəwwaqtu* 'I bought provisions', *rabaytu* 'I grew up', *ḥalabtu* 'I milked', *xəttartu* 'I made yoghurt', *ğaraštu* 'I ground [lentils, cracked wheat, etc.]', *ʿağantu* 'I kneaded [bread]'.

The imperfect in RA is frequently preceded by a modifier *ka* referring to a continuous past action, or by prefix *b-* denoting a habitual action:

ka yəğawn 'they used to come'
ka təbṣəṭu 'she used to spread it'
ka təḥləb ən-naʿğēt 'she used to milk the ewes'
ka yəsqūhən 'they used to water them'
bāxəd āṭi 'I give and take [lit. I take and give]'
baqūm w aqʿəd 'I move about [lit. I get up and sit down]'
btākəl təšrab w tnēm 'she eats, drinks and sleeps'

Of the two modifiers *ka* is the one that occurs more frequently. Although it functions as a particle, *ka* is in all likelihood derived from the auxiliary verb *kān*. Prefix *b-* is less common, and could be due to Syrian influence (cf. Behnstedt 1997; Arnold 1998). When using more than one imperfect in the same sentence, informants tended to use *b-* with the first verbal form only, as can be seen from the last three examples.

3.2 *Nouns*

Like some *qəltu* dialects, notably Christian Iraqi Arabic and the dialect of Mosul, a number of feminine unit nouns have an ending in *-āyi*, e.g., *waraqāyi* 'a piece of paper', *nəğmāyi* 'a star', *kəbbāyi* 'a patty of crushed wheat and minced lamb',[14] *bayḍāyi* 'an egg'.

Some feminine nouns have an ending in *-əyyi*. There are two examples in my data: *gəllābəyyi* 'cloak' and *ṭannūrəyyi* 'skirt'.

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[14] This form is not to be confused with the Syro-Lebanese *kəbbāyi* '(drinking) glass'. It should be pointed out that *kəbbi* (*kubba* in *gələt* dialects) is the regional speciality of the province of Mosul, its main ingredient being *bərġəl* 'crushed wheat', the staple diet of the region.

The frequently occurring plural forms are of the CaCv̄CīC and CaCv̄Ci type, where the second syllable is always long. CaCv̄CīC: *dakēkīn* 'shops' (sg. *dəkkēn*), *ḥawēwīn* 'animals' (sg. *ḥaywēn*), *xawērīf* 'sheep',[15] *masēkīn* 'poor people' (sg. *məskīn*), *malēʿīn* 'scoundrels' (sg. *malʿūn*). CaCv̄Ci: *nəǧēmi* 'stars', *ṭalēmi* '(thick) loaves (of local bread)', *asēmi* 'names', *faqāri* 'poor (pl.)', *ǧaḥāši* 'asses'.

3.3 *Bound morpheme* -ən

Jastrow (1994:120) states that there is "a very stable isogloss" in *qəltu* Arabic which separates the Anatolian branch from other *qəltu* branches, and that is the *m/n* ending of pronominal morphemes. Jastrow found that in the Anatolian branch forms like *bēthum* (Dēr iz-Zōr), *baytəm* (ʿAqra) 'their house' and *ǧītum* (Dēr iz-Zōr), *ǧītəm* (ʿAqra) 'you [comm.pl.] came', for example, are *baytən* and *ǧītən* respectively in Mardin. This feature seems to be characteristic of RA also, as can be seen from the following examples:

Mosul	RA
yəsqūhəm	*yəsqūhən* 'they water them, they give them to drink'
ḥalabətəm	*ḥalabətən* 'she milked them'
bētəm	*baytən* 'their house'
māllətəm	*māllətən* 'theirs'
bəntəm	*bəntən* 'their daughter'

4. *Conclusion*

As can be seen from the above examples the Arabic spoken by the sedentary inhabitants of Rabīʿa is a variety of the Tigris branch of *qəltu* Arabic. RA has a number of similarities with the Arabic of the city of Mosul, one of the better known dialects in the region. [For this dialect see Jastrow's contribution to this volume, *Eds.*] Where RA differs considerably from the dialect of Mosul at the phonological level, however, is primarily in the retention of MSA *r*, the allophone of Mosul Arabic *ġ*. At the morphological level, the main difference

[15] I do not have the singular of *xawērīf* in my data. Informants constantly referred to 'sheep' as *ġalam* (sg. and pl.) or *ġalamēt* (pl.). For the singular they seemed to use *naʿǧi* 'ewe'.

between RA and Mosul Arabic is the pronominal morpheme ending in *n* instead of *m*. Modifier *ka* referring to a continuous past action does not occur in Mosul where the auxiliary verb *kēn* (< MSA *kāna*) is used instead. As far as verbal prefix *b-* is concerned, it is difficult to ascertain from the idiolects surveyed here whether this is a characteristic feature of RA or merely a loan from neighbouring Syrian Arabic. Only a thorough investigation of a cross-section of RA speakers of different ages and of both sexes would provide a more in-depth knowledge of the dialect as a whole.

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ZUM VERBMODIFIKATOR *LĀ-* IN NORDMAROKKANISCHEN DIALEKTEN

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Bekanntlich gebrauchen fast alle marokkanischen Dialekte einen Verbmodifikator, um die allgemeine oder aktuelle Gegenwart auszudrücken.[1] Am meisten verbreitet sind *kā-* und *tā-*, wobei *kā-* so ziemlich überall zu finden ist (Fes, Rabat, Casablanca, Tanger, Tetouan, Larache usw.),[2] inzwischen auch bei jüngeren Sprechern mancher Dialekte, die traditionell andere Verbmodifikatoren kannten. Dagegen wird *tā-* vor allem in den südlichen Dialekten verwendet (Aguadé 1996:198–199).[3] Man findet aber auch andere Verbmodifikatoren wie zum Beispiel *dā-* in dem jüdischen Dialekt von Debdou (Pellat 1952: 123, 133), *qā-*, südöstlich von Chefchaouen (Colin 1975:1195)), *ā-* bei den Branes nördlich von Taza und in Ouargha (Colin 1921:98) oder *ġā-* bei den Ṣrāġna (Guironnet 1954)).

In manchen prähilalischen Dialekten Nordmarokkos, zum Beispiel in Anjra aber auch in anderen Gebieten von Jbala (Žbāla), kommt ein Präverb *lā-* vor (Vicente 2000:103–105).[4] Dank der Untersuchung von Vicente über den Dialekt von Anjra hat man sehr viele Beispiele für den Gebrauch dieses Verbmodifikators.[5]

[1] Eine Ausnahme bildet der jüdische Dialekt von Sefrou; vgl. Stillman (1981:239; 1988:40).

[2] Einen Überblick über diese Verbmodifikatoren in Marokko sowie ihre Etymologien findet man bei Aguadé (1996). Vgl. auch Durand (1991; 1994:89–90) und Grand'Henry (1978:215–220).

[3] Dazu auch Colin in de Prémare (1993–1999: II, 4).

[4] Diese Arbeit ist besonders interessant, weil sie fast ausschliesslich auf den Aussagen weiblicher Informanten beruht. Vgl. auch de Prémare (1993–1999: XI, 3) und (1986, Texte von Zăhra einer Frau aus dem Dorf Ḥămmāra).

[5] Der langsam auch von *kā-* verdrängt wird. Vicente (2000:103–104) bemerkt dazu: "nos encontramos con una fuerte alternancia entre *lā-* y *kā-*; siendo usado el primero mayoritariamente por mujeres de edad avanzada y personas jóvenes analfabetas, y el segundo por niños y niñas escolarizados y por la mayoría de los hombres".

Besonders interessant ist der Dialekt von Chefchaouen (Šəfšāwən), weil in dieser Mundart der Verbmodifikator flektiert wird (Natividad 1998:116–117). Wenn zum Beispiel das Verb *mša* 'gehen' zusammen mit dem Verbmodifikator konjugiert wird, so ergibt sich:

Sg.		Pl.	
3.m.	*lā-yĭmši*	3.c.	*lā-yĭmšīw*
3.f.	*dā-d̠əmši*, *lā-d̠əmši*		
2.c.	*dā-d̠əmši*	2.c.	*dā-d̠əmšīw*
1.c.	*nā-nəmši*	1.c.	*nā-nəmšīw*

Es gibt inzwischen eine beträchtliche Anzahl von Beispielen für den Gebrauch dieser Verbmodifikatoren in Chefchaouen. In einem Aufsatz mit Texten aus dieser Stadt, die von Natividad & Rahmouni (1996) ediert wurden,[6] findet man folgende Sätze: *nā-nă’’īw ṭ-ṭḥīn* 'wir tun Mehl hinein', *lā-yžību səṭṭāš d-əl-băyṭāṯ* 'sie bringen sechzehn Eier', *ma dā-dəfhăm-ši* 'sie versteht nichts', *fiwāx lā-d̠ənʿăs yĭmməç* 'wann schläft deine Mutter?', *ʿlāš, ā-yĭmma, dā-d̠əxdăʿ hād lă-ʿyāl* 'o Mutter, warum täuschst du diese Kinder?', *lā-yăʿṭīha dāçŭl* 'er gibt ihr etwas zu essen'. Und aus einer noch unveröffentlichten Doktorarbeit von Moscoso über den Dialekt von Chefchaouen stammen folgende Beispiele:[7] *hŭwwa hna lā-yĭskŭn* 'er wohnt hier', *ḥătta dā-dŭwṣăl n-əd-dāʀ d-ʀʀāžəl* 'bis sie das Haus des Mannes erreicht', *āna nā-năhḍăʀ* 'ich spreche gerade'.

Der Verbmodifikator *lā-* wird also in Chefchaouen folgendermassen flektiert:

Sg.		Pl.	
3.m.	*lā-*	3.c.	*lā-*
3.f.	*dā-*, *lā-*[8]		
2.c.	*dā-*	2.c.	*dā-*
1.c.	*nā-*	1.c.	*nā-*

6 Natividad & Rahmouni (1996). Die von den Verfasserinnen verwendete Transkription wurde hier von mir geringfügig geändert.

7 Moscoso, *El dialecto árabe de Chauen*. Moscoso weist darauf hin, dass die Flexion des Verbmodifikators charakteristisch für die Sprache der Frauen ist. Männer gebrauchen immer nur die unveränderliche Form *lā-* oder sogar das gemeinmarokkanische *kā-*.

8 *dā-* und *lā-* werden frei variiert.

Schon M. Cohen und Colin (1935:134) haben vor vielen Jahren die Vermutung geäussert, dass der nordmarokkanische Verbmodifikator *lā-* aus dem Berberischen *illa* ‘er ist, es gibt’ entstanden sein könnte.[9] Dieser Etymologie folgend, wies ich in einem 1996 erschienen Aufsatz darauf hin, dass es noch dazu einen auffälligen Parallelismus zwischen den flektierten Formen aus Chefchaouen und der Konjugation des Verbs ‘sein’ im Tašelḥit gäbe, wie aus der folgenden Tabelle ersichtlich wird:

Sg.	Chef.	Tašelḥit		Pl.	Chef.	Tašelḥit	
3.m.	*lā-*	*illa*	‘er ist’	3.c.	*lā-*	*llan*	‘sie sind’
3.f.	*dā-*	*tǝlla*	‘sie ist’			(f. *llant*)	
2.c.	*dā-*	*tǝllit*	‘du bist’	2.c.	*dā-*	*tǝllam*	‘ihr seid’
						f. *tǝllamt*)	
1.c.	*nā-*	*lliġ*	‘ich bin’	1.c.	*nā-*	*nǝlla*	‘wir sind’

Da die Formen *tǝlla*/*tǝllam* > *dā-* als Sonorisierung *t* > *d*[10] und die 1.c. Sg. *nā-* als Analogiebildung zur 1.c. Pl. leicht zu erklären wären, sprach ich mich ebenfalls für die Vermutung berberischer Substrateinwirkung in diesem Fall aus, freilich ohne einen arabischen Ursprung für diesen Vermodifikator ganz auszuschliessen (Aguadé 1996:205–206). Nun, inzwischen halte ich diese Erklärung für ziemlich unwahrscheinlich, denn es gibt sonst gar keine Belege dafür, dass arabische Dialekte in Marokko bei Entlehnungen aus dem Berberischen auch die berberische Flexion übernehmen.

Ausserdem gibt es eine viel einfachere Erklärung für die flektierten Formen aus Chefchaouen: man kann sie nämlich ohne weiteres als Ergebnis einer Assimilation des Verbmodifikators *lā-* an die nachfolgenden Präfixe der 2. und 3. Personen des Imperfekts deuten, also:

2. Sg. und Pl.: *lā-* + *d(ə)* . . . > *dā-d(ə)* . . .
3. Sg. und Pl.: *lā-* + *n(ə)* . . . > *nā-n(ə)* . . .

Somit wären diese flektierten Verbmodifikatoren aus Chefchaouen lediglich Allomorphe des Präverbs *lā-*: die Frage, ob dieser *lā-* aus

[9] Für Colin ist der Verbmodifikator *lā-* “un résidu du berbère *illā*, 3è pers. masc. sing. du verbe d’existence”. Auch Lévy (1990:550) und Tilmatine (1999) halten diese Etymologie für gesichert.

[10] In diesem Dialekt ist die Sonorisierung des Imperfektpräfixes *t-* ohnehin die Regel: *tākŭl* > *dāçŭl* ‘sie wird essen’, *tǝbdāw* > *dǝbdāw* ‘ihr werdet beginnen’, *tǝmši* > *dǝmši* ‘du wirst gehen’ (Natividad & Rahmouni 1996:113–116).

dem Berberischen *illa* stammt muss allerdings noch diskutiert werden.

Für eine berberische Etymologie spricht schon manches. Wie bereits vorhin erwähnt wurde, in nordmarokkanischen arabischen Dialekten—es handelt sich dabei ausschliesslich um prähilalische Mundarten—kommen die Verbmodifikatoren *lā-, dā-, ā-* und *qā-* vor. In manchen berberischen Dialekten (im Rif und Mittlerem Atlas) werden die Präverben *la-, da-, a-* und *qa-* verwendet, und zwar auch um die aktuelle Gegenwart auszudrücken (Chaker 1984:972; Durand 1998:125; Kossmann 2000:121–122)—der Parallelismus zwischen arabischen und berberischen Dialekten ist in diesem Punkt auffällig. Die Substrateinwirkung scheint hier also eindeutig, zumal die betreffenden berberischen und arabischen Dialekte benachbart sind.[11] Man bedenke ausserdem, dass einen berberischen Ursprung bei diesen Präverben zu vermuten ja naheliegend ist—schliesslich hat man es im Norden Marokkos mit Dialekten zu tun, welche ohnehin einen starken Einfluss des berberischen Substrats aufweisen.[12]

Nun, streng genommen darf man allerdings nur dann berberische Substratwirkung annehmen, wenn die betreffende Erscheinung nicht an einer anderen Stelle des arabischen Sprachgebiets vorkommt, das dieses Substrat nicht aufweist.[13] Und das ist eben hier nicht der Fall, denn sowohl im Jemen als auch in Syrien—wo es bestimmt kein berberisches Substrat gegeben hat—kommt ein Verbmodifikator *lā-* vor. Behnstedt (1985: Karte 83, Punkte 134, 140) erwähnt nämlich in seinem Atlas der nordjemenitischen Dialekte einen Vermodifikator

[11] Auch Tilmatine (1999:107–108) weist auf einen möglichen berberischen Ursprung für die marokkanischen Verbmodifikatoren *lā-* und *qā-* hin.

[12] Eine übersichtliche Zusammenfassung dieser Merkmale findet man bei Diem (1979:52–55). Neben manchen Erscheinungen, welche typisch für alle maghrebinischen Dialekte sind (etwa Reduktion der kurzen Vokale und Silbenbildungsregeln), werden in den nordmarokkanischen Mundarten vor allem folgende durch Substrateinwirkung erklärt: Affrizierung von *t, d, b; ḍ* > *ṭ; ma* 'Wasser' wird als Plural behandelt; Veränderungen des syntaktischen Geschlechts einzelner Wörter; Genitivkonstruktionen des Typs *xtu ddə-mḥəmmed* 'die Schwester Muḥammads'. In der letzten Zeit hat sich Tilmatine (1999) mit dem berberischem Substrat in Algerien und Marokko befasst und eine ausführliche Aufstellung möglicher Fälle von Substratwirkung zusammengestellt. Zum Thema vgl. auch Aguadé & Vicente (1997:225–227, 234–236), sowie Lévy (1996).

[13] Diem (1979:16): "Die betreffende arabische Erscheinung darf nicht an einer anderen Stelle des arabischen Sprachgebiets erscheinen, das dieses oder ein entsprechendes anderes Substrat nicht aufweist, sofern die Verbreitung der Erscheinung durch Migration oder Wellenbewegung ausgeschlossen ist".

lā- für die aktuelle und habituelle Handlung, der in der Gegend von ʿAṭṭah, Marays und Juban gebraucht wird.[14] Vanhove (1993:191) hat *lā-* auch in der Ortschaft Dhālaʿ (südlich der von Behnstedt untersuchten Dörfer) belegt. Als Beispiel führt sie an: *lā́-ybki* 'er weint gerade'. Zur Etymologie dieses Präverbs werden von den genannten Autoren keine Angaben gemacht.

Was Syrien betrifft, so erwähnt Behnstedt (1997:325) in seinem Sprachatlas den Gebrauch eines Verbmodifikators *lā-* um die Zukunft auszudrücken für die Gegend von Soukhne sowie für andere Ortschaften.[15] Es sei hier noch hinzugefügt, dass es auch in anderen orientalischen Dialekten Verbmodifikatoren gibt, welche eine durchaus plausible (und rein arabische) Etymologie für den nordmarokkanischen *lā-* liefern können. Um die Zukunft auszudrücken gebraucht man in manchen ägyptischen Dialekten (im Delta sowie in Oberägypten um Gina, Luxor und Idfu) einen Verbmodifikator *lāḥ* (Behnstedt & Woidich 1985: Karten Nr. 224, 225), welcher wohl aus *rāyiḥ* 'gehend' entstanden ist.

Der nordmarokkanische Verbmodifikator *lā-* kann genau so gut aus *rāḥ* (*rāḥ* > *lāḥ* > *lā-*)[16] wie in den oben erwähnten ägyptischen Dialekten entstanden sein. Und man sollte nicht ausser acht lassen, dass es im Hassaniyya—im Süden Marokkos und in Mauretanien—auch einen Verbmodifikator *lā-* (für das Futur) gibt, dessen Ursprung man ebenfalls mit einer rein arabischen Etymologie (nämlich aus dem Partizip *lāhi*) erklärt (Cohen 1924:274; 1963:113).

Vanhove hat in ihrem oben erwähnten Aufsatz auf das Vorkommen eines Verbmodifikators *lā-* in zwei so weit auseinanderliegenden Ländern wie Jemen und Marokko hingewiesen und mit Recht die berberische Etymologie für die nordafrikanische Partikel aus diesem Grund in Frage gestellt: "à la lumière des données yéménites (pour l'instant inexpliquées), l'origine berbère du préverbe marocain est peut-être à discuter, notamment en raison de l'éloignement géographique des zones berbérophones et arabophones concernées, à

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[14] In anderen Gegenden findet man *lā-* und *lāʿ-* um die Zukunft auszudrücken (vgl. Behnstedt 1985: Karte 8). Einen Verbmodifikator *lā* findet man auch im neuaramäischen Dialekt der Juden von Rustaqa (vgl. Khan 2002:402), der aber damit nichts zu tun hat.

[15] Vgl. auch Behnstedt (1994:61).

[16] Das Verb *rāḥ* ist in Marokko auch gebräuchlich, hat aber meistens die Bedeutung '[am Abend] zurückkehren, nach Hause zurückkehren': vgl. de Prémare (1993–1999: V, 231) und Harrell (1966:122).

moins que l'histoire ne montre des liens privilégiés entre elles" (Vanhove 1993:191 und Anm. 16).

Nun, Migrationen hat es schon gegeben aber immer vom Jemen nach Nordafrika und der iberischen Halbinsel so dass manche jemenitische Züge sich sogar im andalusischen Dialekt nachweisen lassen (Corriente 1989): diese Einflüsse und die Tatsache, dass man *lā-* auch in Syrien und Ägypten findet spricht eindeutig gegen eine berberische Etymologie für den nordmarokkanischen Verbmodifikator.

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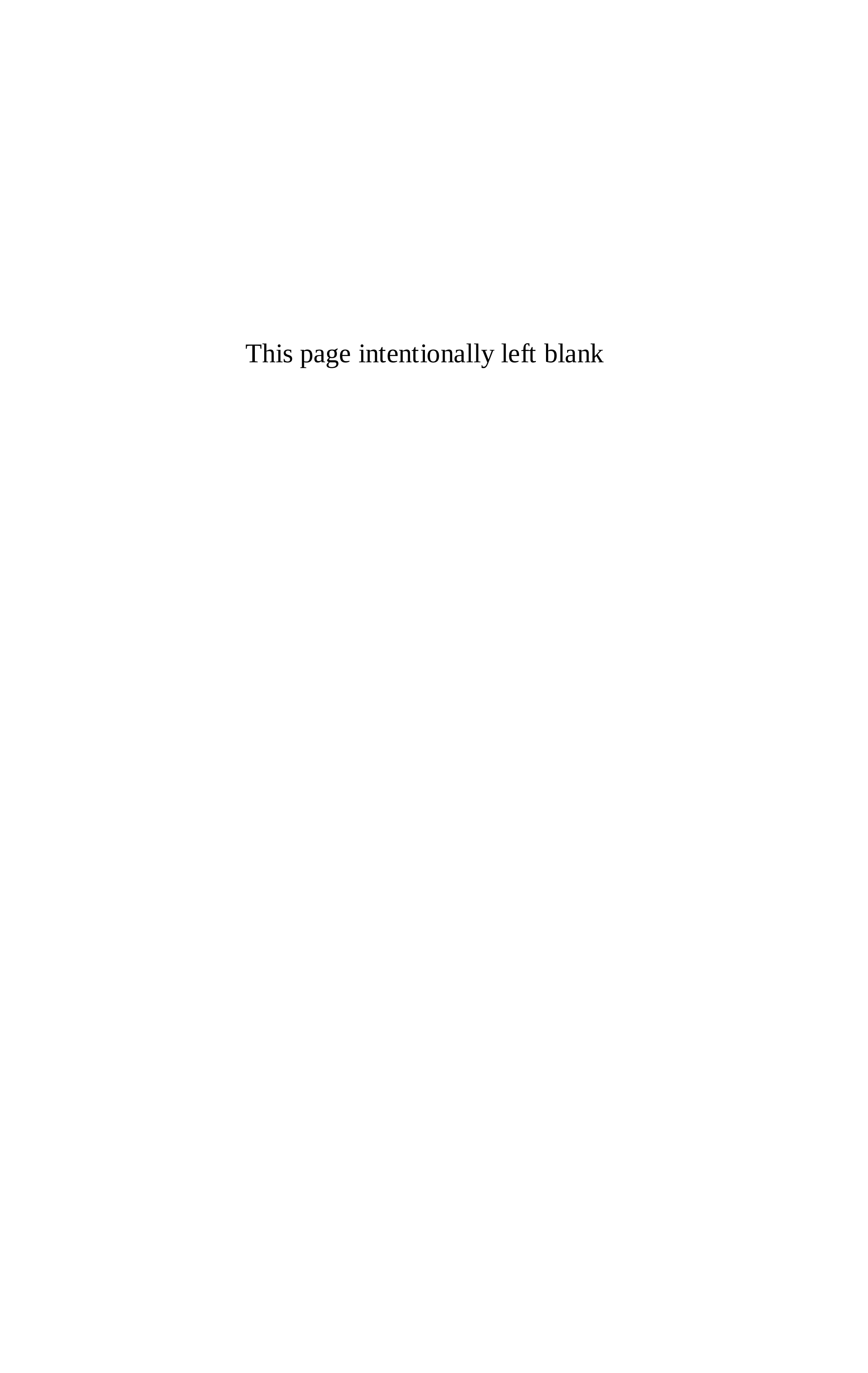
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VARIABILITY REPRODUCED: A VARIATIONIST VIEW OF THE [Ḏ̣]/[Ḍ] OPPOSITION IN MODERN ARABIC DIALECTS*

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1. *Introduction*

In traditional and urban Arabic dialectology it is customary to refer to the change from interdental sounds to stop sounds as a case of phonological *merger*. Naturally, in the technical usage of the term 'merger' it is assumed that, at some point in the distant or recent past, an earlier state of affairs existed when the features in question were kept separate by the native speakers. Often we have evidence for phonological mergers in neighbouring and/or related dialects which did not undergo these processes, or in the existence of relic forms which preserve the earlier distinction, or, where mergers are as yet incomplete, evidence can be found in intergenerational differences, and other social stratification patterns, which provide attestations in apparent time of the pre-merger state. In the case of the *plain* interdental Arabic sounds, the merger of [ṯ] and [ḏ] with [t] and [d], respectively, is historically and empirically substantiated. However, evidence that a phonological merger has occurred which collapsed the lexical set containing modern [ḏ̣] with that containing modern [ḍ] (in either direction) is simply unavailable. None of the spoken

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dialects maintains the distinction presumed in the written form of the Standard variety, no spoken dialect has both sounds in its phonetic inventory, and no dialect, however isolated, 'preserves' vestigial forms of the distinction. In this article, I debate this rather peculiar situation, and I suggest an alternative analysis.

In relation to the occurrence of interdental sounds, the phonetic inventories of modern Arabic dialects can be classified into two types:

- Type I dialects, which represent a system empty of interdental sounds altogether, as in the majority of the urban varieties in the Levant. These dialects are assumed to have undergone a systematic sound change, which has resulted in interdental and stop merger, as illustrated below:

Schema 1: Scenario of events in Type I dialects

Plain sounds	*Outcome*	*Phonetic property of the outcome*
/ṯ/, [ṯ] → [t]	/t/	[t], contains lexical sets with etymological /ṯ/ and /t/.
/ḏ/, [ḏ] → [d]	/d/	[d], contains lexical sets with etymological /ḏ/ and /d/.
Emphatic sounds		
/ḏ̣/, [ḏ̣] → [ḍ]	/ḍ/	[ḍ], contains lexical sets with etymological /ḏ̣/ and /ḍ/.

The course of events envisaged for the plain interdental and stop mergers as outlined in Schema 1 is empirically tenable, as can be evidenced in the dialects which did not undergo the merger, and, perhaps even more convincingly, in the dialects which show stable variability in the use of plain interdental and stop, or progressive tendency towards the merger. But, empirical evidence for the merger of the emphatic sounds (in this case in favour of the stop sound) is unavailable in Arabic dialects, since there are no native dialects which maintain the distinction. Theoretically, however, a sound change which would have shifted the emphatic interdental sound to a stop sound (to parallel the changes in the plain interdentals) is quite plausible, given that interdental sounds occur relatively rarely in human languages, and a change from fricative interdental to stop is a widely attested phenomenon. We can assume that the system here simply eliminates 'cumbersome' sounds wholesale.

- Type II dialects, which have the full set of interdentals, plain [ṯ] and [ḏ], and emphatic [ḏ̣]. The traditional (indigenous) dialects of Jordan and many of the rural and Bedouin Levantine varieties are examples of such dialects. In these dialects, the plain interdentals are phonemically distinguished from their stop counterparts [t] and [d], respectively, but the emphatic interdental has no stop counterpart. Schematically:

Schema 2: Scenario of events in Type II dialects

Plain sounds

/ṯ/ [ṯ], /t/ [t]	No merger
/ḏ/ [ḏ], /d/ [d]	No merger

Emphatic sounds	*outcome*	*Phonetic property of the outcome*
/ḍ/ → /ḏ̣/	/ḏ̣/	[ḏ̣], contains lexical sets with etymological /ḍ/ and /ḏ̣/, i.e. merger in favour of the interdental.

Schema 2 appears problematic, in that the change is incredibly selective (singles out one sound from a system), and predicts a development in the 'wrong' direction: from stop to interdental fricative in dialects which continue to maintain a phonemic distinction between other stop and interdental sounds. A change from stop to fricative is, of course, attested in human languages, but such a development tends to be systematic, as exemplified by the systematic shift of Proto-Indo-European voiceless stops to fricatives (Grimm's Law). Original Arabic *ḍād*, however, was not a stop sound, but most probably an emphatic lateral fricative, which lost lateralisation at some stage. This issue and its implications will be further explored later in this article, but for now let us start from the premise that in both cases above the emphatic sounds had undergone different and/or additional historical developments from those which had affected the plain sounds. As I will show presently, these differences are reflected in the patterns of variation and behaviour of the plain versus the emphatic sounds in contemporary Arabic dialects.

2. *Data and discussion*

In 1987, I investigated variation and change in the use of the interdental sounds in three Jordanian towns, and on the basis of this research I reported that these sounds were undergoing a linguistic change which merged them with their stop counterparts (details are in Al-Wer 1991). I, like other researchers, who investigated these variables in Jordan or in neighbouring communities, treated the change as a systematic development. A closer look at the statistical details in my data and those provided by other researchers reveals that the plain interdentals show a slower rate of change to stops than the emphatic interdental change to emphatic stop (see Abdel-Jawad & Awwad [1989] on a sample of Jordanian speakers, Al-Khatib [1988] on the city of Irbid in north Jordan, and Jassem [1993] on a sample of refugees from the Golan Heights now resident in Damascus; to my knowledge these are the only studies to date which have included the interdentals as variables). In these studies, the change (if these are indeed cases of change in progress) from [ḏ̣] to [ḍ] is considerably faster than the changes from [ṯ] to [t] and [ḏ] to [d]. The plain interdentals [ṯ] and [ḏ] show very similar rates. I revisited the town of Sult in Jordan (one of the towns investigated in 1987) ten years later to collect data for a separate research project. The smaller sample of data I have from the 1997 study provides information in real time on the progression of the change from interdental to stop. The data show that the change has progressed dramatically; in particular, the change from [ḏ̣] to [ḍ] now shows near completion in the speech of young women, while the frequency of occurrence of /ṯ/: [t] and /ḏ/: [d] has roughly doubled (from 28% to 45%). In my opinion, the differences in the behaviour of the plain sounds and the emphatic sounds may not be accidental. Rather, they suggest that the parameters governing the changes from [ṯ] and [ḏ] to [t] and [d] are different from the parameters governing the change from [ḏ̣] to [ḍ], which may be related to the fact that the change which affects the *plain* interdentals is a merger (a phonological change), but the change which affects the *emphatic* interdental is a straightforward sound change from fricative to stop (a phonetic change). In turn, this raises the question of the membership of the emphatic interdental sound in this set, and implies that plain and emphatic interdentals should be analysed separately (not as a system).

It is not clear whether there is any basis for expecting mergers, as a type of sound change, to progress differently from regular sound changes which do not involve phonological mergers, which would, for instance, explain the varying rates of change presented above. On the basis of empirical data, variationist sociolinguists have developed a number of models which show that there are several radically different mechanisms of merger, which operate at different rates (see for instance Trudgill & Foxcroft 1978; Labov 1994, chapter 10). The case of the plain interdental and stop merger in Arabic dialects fits in with the model referred to by Trudgill and Foxcroft (1978) as 'merger by transfer', which involves a gradual transfer of words from one category to another. Labov (1994:323) maintains that merger by transfer is the slowest, compared with 'merger by approximation' and 'merger by expansion'.

Sociolinguistic stereotyping of the interdental sounds in Jordan provides further indication that the plain and emphatic sounds should be treated separately. One observes, for instance, that [ḏ̣] is extremely stigmatised in Jordan (and in the Levant in general). This sound is often used to mimic, in ridicule, speakers of the dialects which have it, but no such stereotypes are associated with the use of [ṯ] or [ḏ]. The issue of how and why positive or negative social values are attached to certain sounds is complex, and the explanations proposed are often circular. It is possible, however, that when a sound change is nearing completion and the use of the departing feature, here [ḏ̣], becomes restricted to a small minority of speakers, its markedness increases, and the sound itself is then perceived as obsolete and rustic.

An intriguing case of plain and emphatic interdentals progressing differently, and in this case dramatically so, is reported in de Jong's (2000) description of the *Biyyāḏ̣iy* dialect in northern Sinai. In this dialect the plain interdentals have shifted to stop but the emphatic interdental [ḏ̣] largely remains unaffected, a further indication that, in the mechanisms of change, while the plain interdentals move systematically, the emphatic interdental does not necessarily follow suit. It appears that in *Biyyāḏ̣iy* /ḏ̣/ is not involved in variation, apart from the cases where [ḍ] is used invariably in K-forms (de Jong 2000:331–332). The stability of [ḏ̣] in comparison with [ṯ] and [ḏ] in this dialect is itself an interesting, but, I think, different issue. De Jong (2000:331–332, n. 8) cites examples of other Arabic dialects ". . . in which interdentals have developed less predictably . . .", namely

the dialects of Bahrain, Siirt, *Āzəx*, and *Bəḥzāni*. I understand 'less predictably' here to mean that the interdentals [ṯ], [ḏ], [ḏ̣] in these dialects did not shift to stop counterparts, but to labiodental/stop/stop in *Baḥārna* Arabic (i.e. the dialect of Bahrain), labiodental/labiodental/labiodental in Siirt, and sibilant/sibilant/sibilant in *Āzəx* and *Bəḥzāni*. Less predictable these cases may be, but the developments are perfectly in line with principles of simplification through elimination of marked sounds in favour of more frequent and/or less marked sounds. In comparison however, the *Biyyāḏ̣iyya* case is baffling. For no apparent linguistic benefit, it disregards the time-honoured constraint of economy in language change. De Jong's proposal that external social factors such as group identity may account for the anomaly of the *Biyyāḏ̣iyya* system is plausible, especially when one considers that the name of the tribe itself contains the emphatic interdental sound. Take the following example for an analogy. In Amman, the sound [g] has largely lost ground to [ʾ], but traditional Jordanian names are immune to this transition. Speakers who otherwise consistently use [ʾ] maintain [g] in proper names such as *ʿugla* and *ʿgāb*.

A phenomenon which is readily observable in the Arabic dialects which have the interdental sounds (Type II dialects) is that the speakers of these dialects very often read the orthographic representation of *ḍād* as [ḏ̣], while the speakers whose native dialects do not include the interdentals read the interdentals as stops. Take, for instance, the following sets of data as examples of the performance of some Arabic speakers in reading tasks, a domain in which speakers usually monitor their speech quite closely (not the sort of data one normally seeks, I dare say). Standard Arabic norms are highly prescribed, and given that newsreaders, in particular, are expected to adhere to these norms, the difficulties they exhibit with the interdental sounds are probably 'beyond their control', so to speak.

In the fist set I recorded four Moroccan speakers, from the Moroccan satellite TV station. Two of the speakers were delivering formal speeches from a written text, and two newsreaders. The speakers in this set read all instances of interdental sounds, both plain and emphatic, as stops. A sample is listed in Table 1 below (the sounds in question are in square brackets).

Table 1: *Examples from the Moroccan speakers*

Correct reading	Actual reading	English gloss
li [ḏ] *ālika*	*li* [d] *ālika*	Hence
[ṯ] *alā* [ṯ] *at ʿašar*	[t] *alā* [t] *at ʿašar*	Thirteen
[ṯ] *ābit*	[t] *ābit*	Steady, Stable
ʾa [ṯṯ] *āniya*	*ʾa* [tt] *āniya*	The second
ʾittixā [ḏ]	*ʾittixā* [d]	The undertaking (of a task)
muna [ḏ̣ḏ̣] *amāt*	*muna* [ḍḍ] *amāt*	Organisations
yanta [ḏ̣] *ir*	*yanta* [ḍ] *ir*	He is awaiting

The Moroccan 'errors' are readily explainable with reference to the absence of interdental sounds from the native dialects of the speakers (assuming they are speakers of such dialects). The behaviour of these speakers is, in essence, similar to the behaviour of, say, German learners of English. In another set of recordings I made, the speakers came from Jordan, Tunisia, Iraq and Yemen (presumably speakers of Type II dialects, which preserve the interdental sounds). Two speakers of each locality were recorded from national satellite TV stations, delivering formal speeches from written texts, or reading the news bulletin. Here, the speakers make no 'mistakes' at all with the plain interdentals, but they read *ḍād* as (voiced emphatic interdental) [ḏ̣]. This error was most consistent in the case of the Tunisian speakers, who read all instances of /ḍ/ as [ḏ̣], followed by the Yemenis' score of 94% wrong, Iraqi's 76%, and the Jordanians' 37%. A sample of the Tunisian data is listed in Table 2 below.

Table 2: *A sample of the Tunisian reading of ḍād*

Correct reading	Actual reading	English gloss
mufāwa [ḍ] *āt*	*mufāwa* [ḏ̣] *āt*	Negotiations
ʾalwa [ḍ] *ʿ*	*ʾalwa* [ḏ̣] *ʿ*	The situation
ʾay [ḍ] *an*	*ʾay* [ḏ̣] *an*	Also
[ḍ] *idd*	[ḏ̣] *idd*	Against
ʾi [ḍ] *āfatan*	*ʾi* [ḏ̣] *āfatan*	Besides, in addition to
fa [ḍ] *lan*	*fa* [ḏ̣] *lan*	Apart from (the fact that . . .)
qa [ḍ] *iyya*	*qa* [ḏ̣] *iyya*	Issue

If a phonemic distinction between [ḍ] and [ḏ̣] ever existed, these speakers clearly have no cognitive access to such a distinction (whereas they have no problem in making the distinction between plain interdental and plain stop). The data from the Jordanian speakers is particularly interesting. The modern urban dialects in Jordan are currently in a state of variability with respect to the interdental sounds: [ṯ] is used alongside [t], [ḏ] is used alongside [d], and [ḏ̣] (for historical /ḏ̣/ and /ḍ/) is used alongside [ḍ] (for historical /ḏ̣/ and /ḍ/). The attested variability represents changes in progress, i.e. these dialects (originally Type II) are undergoing a change from interdental to stop for both plain and emphatic sounds (i.e. are becoming Type I). But, it is noticeable that the speakers have no problems in re-splitting /t/ into [t] and [ṯ], and /d/ into [d] and [ḏ]. The difficulty they show is confined to the distinction between the emphatic variants. I attribute this difference to the fact that in the case of the plain consonants, the phonemic distinction is available in the linguistic experience of the speakers, even if, sometimes, they do not make this distinction phonetically, whereas in the case of the emphatic consonants, there is no such evidence on which speakers can make a phonemic split when required, e.g. speaking or even reading the Standard variety.

3. *ḍād versus ḏ̣āʾ in history*

If one examines the historical developments of /ḍ/ and /ḏ̣/ and their distribution in the old Arabic dialects, the existence of a stage where [ḍ] and [ḏ̣] were distinguished phonemically becomes precarious. The thesis that the emphatic stop descends from Proto-Semitic voiced lateral fricative, say [ɮ], is now widely accepted. To my mind, Steiner (1976) and Corriente (1974) present a strong argument in this direction. Corriente (1974:51), starting from the stage where the emphatic voiced lateral fricative was phonemically distinguished from /ḏ̣/, outlines a convincing course of events leading to the present situation. These developments can be envisaged as follows:

- The system contains /ḏ̣/ [ḏ̣], and /ɮ/ [ɮ]. Given the phonetic complexity associated with the production (and the acquisition) of the lateral fricative, it is reasonable to suggest that it lost its marked phonetic properties, and changed into something else. The question is: what could it have changed into?. The simple answer is

that it would have changed into the nearest, less marked, and acoustically similar sound. If it were to change into a stop by losing lateralisation and creating a total closure, important acoustic information, namely friction, would have been lost. At this point, it is worth noting that the complexity of the sound is much more likely to cause problems for the learners (the new acquirers, the children) than for the adults, and therefore acoustic clues are vital for a successful reproduction. The most likely development, therefore, was that the lateral fricative lost lateralisation, and the friction was reproduced through an interdental narrowing. This means that its phonetic (and acoustic) properties became very similar to or identical with [ḏ̣], and the outcome was a merger in favour of [ḏ̣], which then contained the lexical sets with etymological lateral fricative as well as those which already had the emphatic interdental. Type II dialects stopped here.

But, Type I dialects continue as follows:

- [ḏ̣] (which is now the result of the merger of [ɮ] and [ḏ̣]), and the plain interdentals [ṯ] and [ḏ] change into stops [ḍ], [t] and [d], respectively. Notice that the outcome of this change is a *merger in the case of the plain interdentals* (since the system already contained /t/ and /d/), but the outcome in the case of the emphatic sound is not a merger, since the system did not have a voiced stop emphatic sound; the latter is rather a straightforward sound change with no mergers involved.

What the historical developments outlined here show is that Type II dialects have never had a stop counterpart to [ḏ̣] in the first place, and that neither Type I nor Type II dialects have ever had the [ḏ̣] versus [ḍ] opposition. If an opposition never existed, then the sound change, to [ḍ], which has affected or is affecting [ḏ̣] in many Arabic dialects is not a case of merger. Strictly speaking, however, in the case of Type I dialects, the change from interdental to stop must have gone through a stage of variability, whereby the old and the new forms were used. These dialects may have contained [ḏ̣] and [ḍ] variably at some stage, as variants (allophones) of the same phoneme, but not contrastively, i.e. a very similar situation to that found in some contemporary Jordanian dialects, as explained above.

4. *The phonemic status of /ḍ/ versus /ḏ̣/ in Classical Arabic*

Written Classical Arabic suggests a phonemic distinction between /ḍ/ and /ḏ̣/, and at first sight, the phonetic descriptions by the ancient grammarians are suggestive of the existence of this distinction. Nevertheless, it is surprising from this viewpoint that none of the spoken dialects has maintained this contrast. The comments by the ancient grammarians are unclear, in that although they mention different pronunciations, for instance Sībawayhi described a sound which in modern terms is likely to be a voiced lateral fricative [ɮ], and a separate sound [ḏ̣], it is possible, in my opinion, that what the ancient grammarians are describing is in fact a situation of variation similar to that observed in the modern dialects, where both sounds occur but not in the same dialects. Moreover, it is clear that the modern dialects did not evolve directly from the Classical standard, in so far as standard forms of languages are typically a more or less conscious amalgam of dialects. The question then is whether the dialects from which both Classical Arabic and the colloquial varieties developed had this contrast. Indeed, in the pre-Islamic texts, different dialects had different variants, and there are numerous examples of the alternation of the two sounds in the same words in the early Islamic era (see El-Gindi 1982). El-Gindi (1982:426–428) also names at least seven different collections of the *Qurʾān* (*maṣāḥif*) which *either* use *ḍād* or *ḏ̣āʾ* to represent both sounds throughout. Interestingly, he mentions that in the *Qurʾān*, the word [ġali:ḏ̣] is a perfect rhyme of [ʿari:ḍ]. Clearly, these words can only rhyme if *ḍād* and *ḏ̣āʾ* had an identical phonetic realisation.

A possible conclusion from these observations is that the contrast found in Classical Arabic between [ḏ̣] and [ḍ] represents an artificial split, which may have come about in a variety of ways, for instance, through an attempt to codify this variation on a lexical basis with the possibility that lexemes incorporated in the standard may have come from different [ḍ] versus [ḏ̣] dialects. Those speakers in my data who do not make the 'correct' distinctions in reading Classical Arabic may not in fact be making mistakes, but are simply maintaining, or reproducing, the same variability which was there between these sounds in the classical period. Finally, Clive Holes, who is hereby dearly thanked, has brought to my attention the following comment by Kofler (1940–1942:96–97), which sums up the situation aptly:

"... ferner auch, dass bereits im Altarabischen keine einheitliche Aussprache des ḍ vorhanden war und das Bild der heutigen Dialekte schon dort vorgezeichnet ist" [... furthermore, that already in Old Arabic no uniform pronunciation of ḍ existed, and that the picture of today's dialects had already been sketched out].

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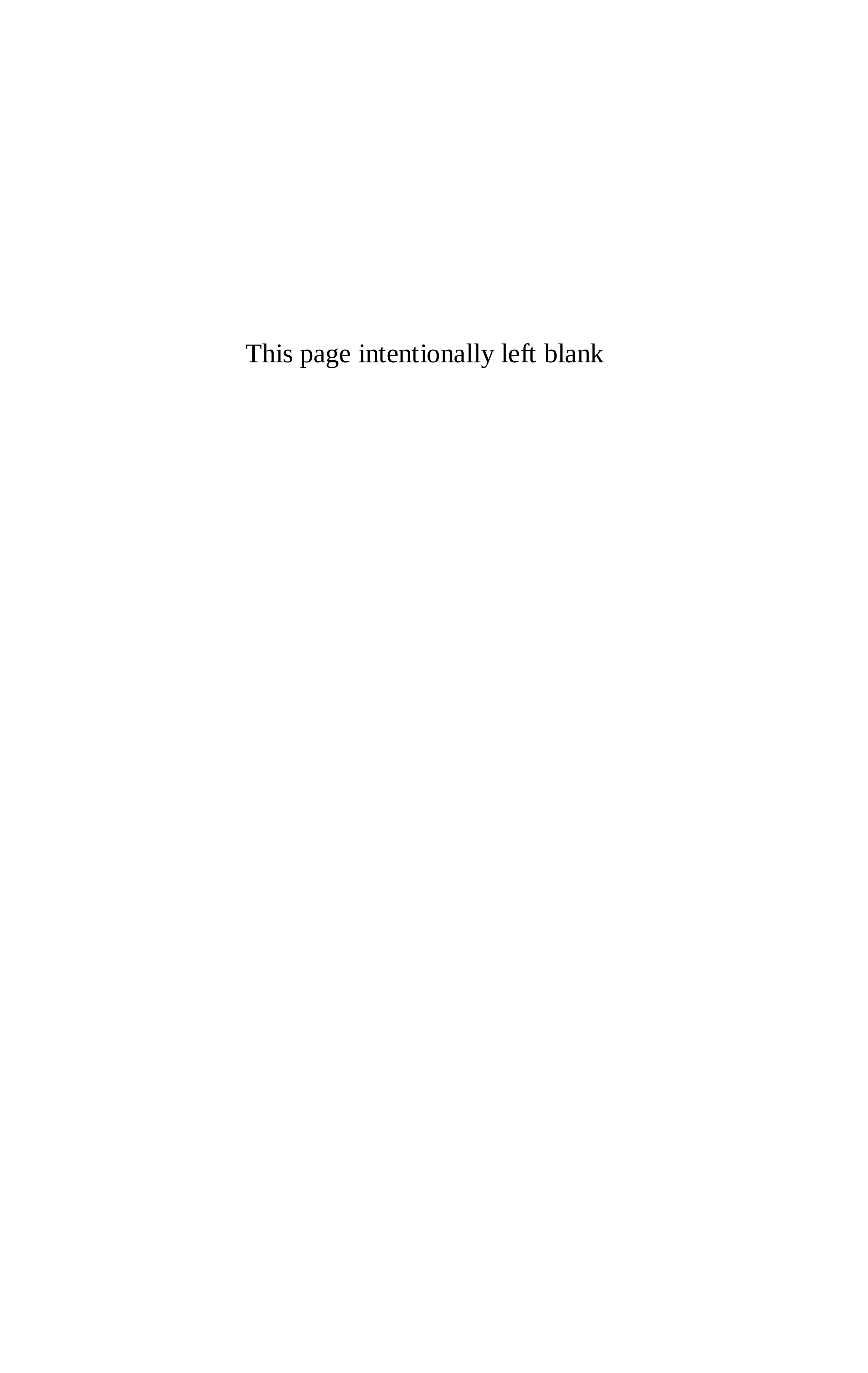
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DIE ARABISCHEN DIALEKTE VON JAFFA UND UMGEBUNG

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1. *Einleitung*

Im Rahmen eines gemeinsamen Projekts zur Erforschung der arabischen Dialekte Israels, habe ich während eines rund zweimonatigen Feldforschungsaufenthaltes Daten zu den arabischen Dialekten in Jaffa (Yāfa) und Umgebung gesammelt.[1] Dabei konnte ich drei verschiedene Dialekttypen feststellen:

1. Die Stadtdialekte der Christen und Muslime, die in den drei Städten Yāfa, Ramla (ir-Ramle) und Lod (il-Lidd) gesprochen werden. Die Unterschiede im Dialekt der einzelnen Städte sind außerordentlich gering. Auch zwischen den Dialekten der Christen und Muslime gibt es kaum Unterschiede. Im Gegensatz zu den Dorfdialekten sind die Stadtdialekte sehr vital und werden von vielen Tausend Menschen gesprochen. In Yāfa leben beispielsweise 20.000 Araber, davon ca. 5000 Christen.[2]

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[1] An dem Projekt sind außer mir noch Simon Hopkins und Aryeh Levin von der Hebräischen Universität Jerusalem, Rafi Talmon und Aharon Geva-Kleinberger (Universität Haifa) und Otto Jastrow (Universität Erlangen) beteiligt. Ich danke der German Israeli Foundation für die Finanzierung meines Forschungsaufenthaltes in Israel. Außerdem danke ich meinen Kollegen in Israel, die mich bei der Kontaktaufnahme mit meinen Informanten unterstützt haben, und zwar Gabi Rosenbaum und Nāṣir Baṣal (Universität Tel-Aviv) sowie Rafi Talmon, Aharon Geva-Kleinberger und Menachem Mor (Universität Haifa). Nicht zuletzt gilt mein Dank allen meinen Informanten, die mir nicht nur bereitwillig Auskunft gegeben, sondern mich auch freundlich aufgenommen und unterstützt haben. Dazu gehören der Vorsitzende der samaritanischen Gemeine in Holon, Benyamim Tsedaka sowie Ilyāna Fanūs und Žōrž Ṣūṣu (ir-Ramle), Merwad Munayyer (il-Lidd) und ʿAli Yatīm (Yāfa).

[2] Nach der Eroberung der Städte Yāfa, il-Lidd und ir-Ramle duch die israelische Armee im Jahre 1948 mußten die meisten Bewohner die Städte verlassen. Auf den Internetseiten www.palestineremembered.com findet man folgende Angaben: Yāfa: von den 70.000 Bewohnern blieben 3650; ir-Ramle: von den 17.000 Bewohnern

2. Die Dorfdialekte in der Umgebung der drei Städte sind heute völlig verschwunden, da fast alle Bewohner im Jahre 1948 nach Jordanien geflohen sind. Nur wenige Familien haben sich in den Städten der Region niedergelassen. Die jüngeren Nachfahren haben ihren Dorfdialekt aufgegeben und sprechen jetzt den Stadtdialekt. Nur über 70 Jahre alte Sprecher haben noch eine Erinnerung an den Dialekt. Von diesen habe ich jedoch nur in il-Lidd zwei Informanten gefunden, die ursprünglich aus den Dörfern Ṣarafand und Kufr ʿĀna stammen.[3] Alle Bewohner dieser Dörfer wie auch aller anderen Dörfer der Region waren Muslime.[4] Viele Städter haben Vorfahren, die aus den Dörfern zugewandert sind. Daher findet man bei den Muslimen der Städte manchmal Formen, die mit den Dorfdialekten übereinstimmen. Auf diese Weise sind in den Städten kleinere Dialektunterschiede zwischen Christen und Muslimen entstanden.

3. Der Dialekt der Samaritaner gehört nicht zu den autochthonen Dialekten der Region, da die Samaritaner in Holon ursprünglich aus Nablus stammen, wo die andere Hälfte des kleinen Volkes bis heute lebt. Zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts haben sich die ersten Familien in Yāfa niedergelassen. Seit 1954 leben alle Samaritaner Israels in Holon, wo sie auch eine eigene Synagoge haben. Trotz der Heiligkeit des Gerizim-Berges in Nablus verlassen viele Samaritaner die West-Bank wegen der ständigen Unruhen und lassen sich im sicheren Holon nieder. Inzwischen übertrifft die Zahl der Samaritaner in Holon mit 330 Personen bereits die Einwohnerzahl in Nablus, wo nur noch 309 Samaritaner leben.

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blieben 400; il-Lidd: von den 19.000 Bewohnern blieben 1052. Seit dieser Zeit wuchs die Bevölkerung wieder an. In Yāfa lebten im Jahre 1958 6500 Araber, im Jahre 1965 bereits 10.000. Darunter sind natürlich viele Araber, die wegen der großen Anziehungskraft Yāfas aus anderen Gebieten Israels, der Westbank und sogar Ägyptens zugezogen sind.

[3] Es handelt sich um ʿAli iš-Šarāyiʿ, geb. 1942 in Kufr ʿĀna, 11 km östlich von Yāfa und seine Frau aus Ṣarafand il-ʿAmār, 5 km nordwestlich von ir-Ramle. Alle Angaben zu den Dorfdialekten in diesem Artikel stammen von diesen beiden Informanten.

[4] Nur wenige Dörfer hatten winzige christliche Minderheiten. In Ṣarafand lebten beispielsweise 40 Christen unter 1910 Muslimen, in Bēt Dağan 130 Christen unter 3710 Muslimen. Nur der kleine Ort il-Laṭrūn mit seinen 190 Bewohnern war überwiegend christlich (Quelle: www.palestineremembered.com).

2. *Phonologie*

2.1 *Konsonanten*

2.1.1 *Interdentale*

In allen Dialekten des Gebiets sind die alten Interdentale zu den entsprechenden Verschlußlauten verschoben:[5]

Stadtdialekte	Dorfdialekte	Samaritaner	
dān	*dān*	*id^{i}n*	Ohr
hāda	*hāda*	*hāde*	dieser
tōr	*tōr*	*tōr*	Stier
tōme	*tōme*	*tōme*	Knoblauch
ḍah^{i}ṛ	*ḍah^{i}ṛ*	*ḍah^{i}ṛ*	Rücken
uḍfaṛ	*uḍfaṛ*	*uḍfaṛ*	Fingernagel

2.1.2 *Die Entwicklung von* ǧ

Die stimmhafte, palato-alveolare Affrikate *ǧ* ist nur in den Dorfdialekten erhalten. In den Stadtdialekten und bei den Samaritanern ist sie zu *ž* verschoben, wodurch *š* eine stimmhafte Entsprechung erhält:

Stadtdialekte	Dorfdialekte	Samaritaner	
ʿižle	*ʿiǧle*	*ʿižle*	Kalb
sažaṛa	*saǧaṛa*	*sažaṛa*	Baum

2.1.3 *Die Entwicklung von* q *und* k

In den Stadtdialekten und bei den Samaritanern ist *k* stets erhalten,[6] während *q*—wie in vielen arabischen Stadtdialekten—zu ʾ verschoben ist. Die Dorfdialekte haben dagegen altes *q* zu *k* und altes *k* zu *č* verschoben:

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[5] Nach Bergsträsser (1915:Karte 1) hatten die Dorfdialekte ganz Palästinas Interdentale. Bei meinen Informanten aus Ṣarafand und Kufr ʿĀna habe ich jedoch nie einen Interdental gehört. Wahrscheinlich haben sie schon als Jugendliche in der Stadt die Interdentale aufgegeben.

[6] Leonhard Bauer (1910:214) gibt an, daß die Bewohner von il-Lidd und mehr oder weniger auch die Bewohner von Nablus und Hebron auch das *k* als ʾ aussprechen. Ich habe diese Aussprache in il-Lidd niemals gehört. Auch Ulrich Seeger (1998) erwähnt dieses Phänomen nicht.

Stadtdialekte	Dorfdialekte	Samaritaner	
ʾalb	*kalb*	*ʾalb*	Herz
baʾaṛa	*bakaṛa*	*baʾaṛa*	Kuh
kalb	*čalb*	*kalb*	Hund
dīk	*dīč*	*dīk*	Hahn

2.1.4 *ʾvʾ im Anlaut*

Durch die Verschiebung von altem *q* zu *ʾ* in den Stadtdialekten kann im Wortanlaut die Lautfolge *ʾvʾ* entstehen. In diesem Fall wird wortanlautendes *ʾ* durch *h* ersetzt.[7] Bei den Samaritanern wird diese Lautfolge jedoch toleriert:

Stadtdialekte	Dorfdialekte	Samaritaner	
haʾall	*ʾakall*	*ʾaʾall*	weniger
biddi haʾṛa	*biddi ʾakṛa*	*biddi ʾaʾṛa*	ich will lesen
huʾʿod[8]	*ʾukʿod*	*ʾuʾʿod*	setz dich!

2.1.5 *r > [ʀ] < bei den Samaritanern*

Bei den jüngeren Samaritanern, die in Holon aufgewachsen sind, ist das Zungenspitzen-*r* [r] durch das Zäpfchen-*r* [ʀ] ersetzt. Dies dürfte dem Einfluß des Hebräischen zuzuschreiben sein, da es bei älteren Sprechern und bei Samaritanern, die erst in den letzten Jahren von Nablus nach Holon gekommen sind, nicht auftritt:

ʀāḥ er ging weg *šiʀeb* er trank

2.2 *Vokale*

2.2.1 *Kurzvokale*

Alle Dialekte der Region kennen die drei kurzen Vokale *a, i* und *u*:

ḥabb Korn *ḥibb* liebe! *ḥubb* Liebe

[7] Diese Erscheinung ist aus dem arabischen Dialekt von Jerusalem bekannt (s. Garbell 1958:327 und Levin 1994:22) und kommt auch in anderen Stadtdialekten Palästinas vor, beispielsweise im Dialekt von Haifa (s. Geva-Kleinberger 2000).

[8] Bei einigen Muslimen kommen die Formen auch ohne *h-* vor. Möglicherweise entstanden diese Formen unter Einfluß der Dorfdialekte, die diese Erscheinung aufgrund der Lautverschiebung *q > k* nicht kennen: *ʾaʾall—biddi ʾaʾṛa—ʾuʾʿod.*

Während *a* in allen Silben auftreten kann, haben *i* und *u* in einfach geschlossener Endsilbe die Allophone *e* und *o*:[9]

išrab	trink! (m)	*išrabi*	trink! (f)
inzel	steig herab! (m)	*inzili*	steig herab! (f)
uḍṛob	schlag! (m)	*uḍṛubi*	schlag! (f)

In unbetonter offener Silbe werden die Kurzvokale *u* und *i*, die nicht das Kürzungsprodukt von Langvokalen sind, gewöhnlich elidiert. Der Vokal *a* bleibt dagegen meist erhalten:

katabu	sie schrieben	*širbu*	sie tranken

2.2.2 *Langvokale*

Zu den ererbten Langvokalen *ā, ī* und *ū* sind in allen Dialekten der Region wie überall in Palästina durch Monophthongisierung der alten Diphthonge *aw* und *ay* die neuen Langvokale *ō* und *ē* hinzugekommen:

ʿēn (< *ʿayn*)	Auge	*yōm* (< *yawm*)	Tag
bēḍ (< *bayḍ*)	Ei	*lōn* (< *lawn*)	Farbe

In zwei Wörtern geht *ē* auf langes *ā* zuruck. Diese Besonderheit findet sich auch in anderen palästinensischen Dialekten:[10]

sēʿa	Stunde	*mbēreḥ*	gestern

Langes *ō* tritt auch im Perfekt der Verben mit *ʾ* als erstem Radikal auf, wo es aus (< *aʾ*) entstanden ist:

bōkol	er ißt

Diese Erscheinung ist typisch für die palästinensischen Dialekte. Sie fehlt jedoch zumindest in einigen Städten, wie in Jerusalem, Hebron und Nablus.[11] Daher haben auch die aus Nablus stammenden Samaritaner in Holon *bākol.*

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[9] Dieses System der Kurzvokale bildet die Vorstufe zum Damaszenischen, wo *i* und *u* zu *ə* zusammengefallen sind, aber *e* und *o* in einfach geschlossener Endsilbe erhalten blieben.Die Senkung der beiden Kurzvokale in einfach geschlossener Endsilbe unterbleibt nach Auskunft von Ulrich Seeger in allen östlichen palästinensischen Dialekten.

[10] Da die Dialekte der Region wie die meisten arabischen Dialekte Palästinas sonst keine *ʾimāla* kennen, ist die Erscheinung schwer zu erklären. Klaus Beyer hat mich darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß bereits im Aramäischen (besonders in Galiläa) in der Umgebung von Labialen und Sibilanten häufig *ā* zu *ē* wird (s. Beyer 1984:138; Ergänzungsband:52).

[11] Bergsträsser (1915:203 und Karte 19); Seeger (1998:108); Levin (1994:21).

2.2.3 *Kürzung von Langvokalen*

Langvokale kommen sowohl in Stadt- als auch in den Dorfdialekten nur betont vor. Jedes Wort kann daher nur einen Langvokal enthalten. Kommt durch einen morphologischen Prozeß ein weiterer Langvokal hinzu, so wird der vorangehende Langvokal gekürzt. Dabei bleibt bei den ererbten Langvokalen die Vokalqualität erhalten, während bei den neu entstandenen Vokalen *ē* und *ō* mit der Kürzung eine Umlautung zu *i* und *u* auftritt:[12]

bāṭ	Achsel	*baṭēn*	zwei Achseln
šāfu	sie sahen	*mā šafūš*	sie sahen nicht
īd	Hand	*idēn*	Hände
nsīto	ich vergaß es	*mā nsitōš*	ich vergaß es nicht
bišūfu	sie sehen	*mā bišufūš*[13]	sie sehen nicht
ṣūra	Bild	*ṣurtēn*	zwei Bilder
bēn	zwischen	*binātna*	zwischen uns
ʿēn	Auge	*ʿintēn*	zwei Augen
yōm	Tag	*yumēn*	zwei Tage
bōkol	er ißt	*mā bukulⁱš*	er ißt nicht

2.2.4 *Auslaut-ʾimāla*

In allen Dialekten der Region hat die Femininendung zwei Formen. Die Form *-a* tritt nach allen emphatischen, velaren, pharyngalen und glottalen Konsonanten auf. Nach allen anderen Konsonanten lautet die Femininendung *-e*. Bei den Samaritanern tritt diese *ʾimāla* nicht nur bei der Femininendung auf, sondern auch bei allen anderen Formen mit Auslaut *-a*. Zusätzlich tritt die *ʾimāla* bei den Samaritanern auch nach *h* auf:

[12] Bei älteren Samaritanern unterbleibt die Kürzung von Langvokalen in vortoniger Silbe häufig. Auch bei den Muslimen in Nablus sollen die Langvokale stets erhalten sein. Es ist mir bis jetzt nicht klar geworden, ob die Kürzung unter dem Einfluß des Dialekts von Yāfa entstanden ist oder ob die Langvokale unter dem Einfluß des Dialekts der nichtsamaritanischen Bevölkerung von Nablus in vortoniger Silbe erhalten bleiben.

[13] Bei den Samaritanern kann das Imperfekt auch mit *ā* verneint werden. Die Verneinung mit *mā* wird angeblich als stärker empfunden. Die Verneinung mit *ā* findet sich auch in den Dialekten der Aleviten Antiochiens:

ā bišufūš	sie sehen nicht	*mā bišufūš*	sie sehen überhaupt nicht

Stadtdialekte	Dorfdialekte	Samaritaner	
fir'a	*firka*	*fir'a*	Mannschaft
ḥmāṛa	*ḥmāṛa*	*ḥmāṛa*	Eselin
sabʿa	*sabʿa*	*sabʿa*	sieben
ra'abe	*rakabe*	*ra'abe*	Hals
šiffe	*šiffe*	*šuffe*	Lippe
ʿanze	*ʿanze*	*ʿanze*	Ziege
ēmta	*ēmta*	*ēmte*	wenn
hāda	*hāda*	*hāde*	dieser
bētna	*bētna*	*bētne*	unser Haus

2.2.5 *Betonung*

Betont wird die letzte Silbe, wenn sie einen Langvokal enthält oder doppelt geschlossen ist, wobei die Doppelkonsonanz im Wortauslaut häufig durch einen Hilfsvokal ^{i} (bei *u* in der vorangehenden Silbe manchmal auch ^{u}) aufgesprengt wird. Dieser Hilfsvokal hat keinen Einfluß auf die Betonung:

fallaḥī́n	Bauern	*mā bisafír^{i}š*	er verreist nicht
mā raddát^{i}š	sie antwortete nicht	*mā bišúf^{u}š*	er sieht nicht

Ist die letzte Silbe offen oder nur einfach geschlossen, wird vom Wortende gerechnet die erste lange Silbe (KvK, Kv̄) betont:

yištíġlu	sie arbeiten	*yíštiġel*	er arbeitet

Der Ton geht jedoch nicht über die drittletzte Silbe hinaus:

kannásato sie kehrte ihn

3. *Morphologie*

3.1 *Pronomen*

3.1.1 *Personalpronomen*

Wie in den meisten Ansässigendialekten des vorderen Orients ist die Genusunterscheidung im Plural aufgegeben. Der Dialekt der Samaritaner unterscheidet sich hier mit *n* in der 3 pl und beim suffigierten Personalpronomen auch in der 2 pl von den anderen Dialekten der Region und zeigt hier deutlich seine nördliche Herkunft.

3.1.2 *Selbständiges Personalpronomen*

Auffällig und schwer zu erklaren ist hier die 3 pl *hummen* in Yāfa. Sie erinnert an biblisch-aramäisches *himmōn*. In der 3 sg m und f haben die Dorfdialekte kürzere Formen, wie sie vor allem in Norden des syrisch-palästinensischen Raums verbreitet sind:

	Stadtdialekte	Dorfdialekte	Samaritaner
3 sg m	*hūwe*	*hū*	*hūwe*
3 sg f	*hīye*	*hī*	*hīye*
2 sg m	*inta*	*inta*	*inte*
2 sg f	*inti*	*inti*	*inti*
1 sg c	*ana*	*ana*	*ani*
3 pl	*humme*[14]	*humme*	*hunne*
2 pl	*intu*	*intu*	*intu*
1 pl	*iḥna*	*iḥna*	*iḥne*

3.1.3 *Suffigiertes Personalpronomen*

Beim suffigierten Personalpronomen fällt auf, daß in der 3 sg f und in der 3 pl das anlautende *h* stets erhalten ist:

	Stadtdialekte	Dorfdialekte	Samaritaner
3 sg m	*bēto*	*bēto*	*bēto*
3 sg f	*bētha*	*bētha*	*bēthe*
2 sg m	*bētak*	*bētak*	*bētak*
2 sg f	*bētek*	*bētek*	*bētek*
1 sg c	*bēti*	*bēti*	*bēti*
3 pl	*bēthom*	*bēthom*	*bēthon*
2 pl	*bētkom*	*bētkom*	*bētkon*
1 pl	*bētna*	*bētna*	*bētne*

3.1.4 *Demonstrativpronomen*

Beim Demonstrativpronomen stimmen die einzelnen Dialekte weitgehend überein:

[14] In Yāfa lautet die 3 pl gewöhnlich *hummen*. Bei einigen muslimischen Sprechern kommt auch *humme* vor. Diese Form stammt vielleicht aus den Dorfdialekten, die ebenfalls *humme* haben.

	Stadtdialekte	Dorfdialekte	Samaritaner
Nähere Deixis:			
Sg m	*hāda*	*hāda*	*hāde*
Sg f	*hādi*	*hādi*	*hādi*
Pl c	*hadōl(a)*	*hadōl(a)*	*hadōl*
Fernere Deixis:			
Sg m	*hadāk*	*hadāk*	*hadāk*
Sg f	*hadīk*	*hadīk*	*hadīk*
Pl c	*hadulāk*	*hadulāk*	*hadōk*[15]

3.1.5 *Interrogativpronomen*

Kleinere Unterschiede gibt es auch beim Interrogativpronomen:

Stadtdialekte	Dorfdialekte	Samaritaner	
mīn	*mīn*	*mīn*	wer
ēš	*ēš*	*šū*	was
kīf, Yāfa: *kēf*	*čēf*	*kīf*	wie
wēn	*wēn*	*wēn*	wo
ēmta	*waktēš*	*ēmte*	wann
lēš	*lēš*	*lēš*	warum
akam	*ačam*	*akam*	wieviel [Anzahl]
ʾaddēš	*kaddēš*	*ʾaddēš*	wieviel [Preis]

3.1.6 *Genitivexponent*

Als Genetivexponent wird in den Stadtdialekten teils *tabaʿ*, teils *šēt* verwendet. In den Dorfdialekten kommt nur *šēt*, bei den Samaritanern nur *tabaʿ* vor.

3.2 *Verbum*

3.2.1 *Perfekt*

Wie beim Pronomen ist auch beim Verbum die Genusunterscheidung im Plural aufgegeben. Im Grundstamm lassen sich zwei Reihen von Verben unterscheiden. Die meist transitiven Verben haben als Basisvokale *a*, die intransitiven Verben dagegen *i*:

[15] Nach Auskunft einer Studentin aus Nablus haben auch die Muslime dieser Stadt *hadōk*.

3 sg m	*ḍarab*	*šireb*
3 sg f	*ḍarbat*	*širbat*
2 sg m	*ḍarabⁱt*	*šribⁱt*
2 sg f	*ḍarabti*	*šribti*
1 sg c	*ḍarabⁱt*	*šribⁱt*
3 pl	*ḍarabu*	*širbu*
2 pl	*ḍarabtu*	*šribtu*
1 pl	*ḍarabna*	*šribna*

Abweichend von den angegebenen Paradigmen haben die Samaritaner in der 1 pl *ḍarabne* und *šribne*.

3.2.2 *Imperfekt*

Wie in den anderen Ansässigendialekten des syrisch-palästinensischen Raums wird ein *y*-Imperfekt und ein *b*-Imperfekt unterschieden. Es existieren drei Reihen mit den Basisvokalen *a*, *i* und *u*. Die Formen mit Basisvokal *a* oder *i* haben einen Präfixvokal *i*, die Formen mit Basisvokal *u* einen Präfixvokal *u*:

3 sg m	*yišrab, bišrab*	*yinzel, binzel*	*yuḍrob, buḍrob*
3 sg f	*tišrab, btišrab*	*tinzel, btinzel*	*tuḍrob, btuḍrob*
2 sg m	*tišrab, btišrab*	*tinzel, btinzel*	*tuḍrob, btuḍrob*
2 sg f	*tišrabi, btišrabi*	*tinzili, btinzili*	*tuḍrubi, btuḍrubi*[16]
1 sg c	*ašrab, bašrab*	*anzel, banzel*	*aḍrob, baḍrob*
3 pl	*yišrabu, bišrabu*	*yinzilu, binzilu*	*yuḍrubu, buḍrubu*
2 pl	*tišrabu, btišrabu*	*tinzilu, btinzilu*	*tuḍrubu, btuḍrubu*
1 pl	*nišrab, mnišrab*	*ninzel, mninzel*	*nuḍrob, mnuḍrob*

3.2.3 *Verben I ʾ*

Die Verben mit ʾ als erstem Radikal haben im Imperfekt den für den Süden des syro-palästinensischen Raums typischen Langvokal *ō*. Nur die Samaritaner haben wie der Norden *ā*:

[16] Bei einigen Samaritanern werden die unbetonten Kurzvokale *u* und *i* in diesem Paradigma elidiert. Die dadurch entstehende Konsonantengruppe wird durch Einfügung eines Hilfsvokals nach dem ersten Konsonanten aufgelöst. Dies ist auch bei den meisten anderen palästinensischen Dialekten der Fall: *tišrabi*, aber *tinⁱzli* und *tuḍᵘrbi*.

	Stadt- und Dorfdialekte		Samaritaner	
	Perfekt	Imperfekt	Perfekt	Imperfekt
3 sg m	*akal*	*yōkol, bōkol*	*akal*	*yākol, bākol*
3 sg f	*aklat*	*tōkol, btōkol*	*aklat*	*tākol, btākol*
2 sg m	*akal*^{i}*t*	*tōkol, btōkol*	*akal*^{i}*t*	*tākol, btākol*
2 sg f	*akalti*	*tōkli, btōkli*	*akalti*	*tākli, btākli*
1 sg c	*akal*^{i}*t*	*ākol, bākol*	*akal*^{i}*t*	*ākol, bākol*
3 pl	*akalu*	*yōklu, bōklu*	*akalu*	*yāklu, bāklu*
2 pl	*akaltu*	*tōklu, btōklu*	*akaltu*	*tāklu, btāklu*
1 pl	*akalna*	*nōkol, mnōkol*	*akalne*	*nākol, mnākol*

3.2.4 *Verben II w/y*

Bei den Verben mit schwachem mittleren Radikal lassen sich die drei Typen *nām/ynām, bāʿ/ybīʿ* und *ṛāḥ/yṛūḥ* unterscheiden. Im Perfekt lauten die Formen mit kurzem Vokal *nimt, biʿt, ṛuḥt.*

3.2.5 *Verben III y*

Bei den Verben mit schwachem dritten Radikal unterscheiden Yāfa, ir-Ramle und die Dorfdialekte im Perfekt Verben mit Basisvokal *a* von solchen mit Basisvokal *i*. Bei den Formen mit Basisvokal *i* ist der schwache dritte Radikal *y* vor vokalisch anlautenden Flexionssuffixen erhalten (*nisyat*), während er bei Verben mit Basisvokal *a* fehlt (*ramat*). In diese Verbgruppe ist auch das ursprüngliche III ʾ Verb übergewechselt. Bei den Samaritanern und in il-Lidd sind diese beiden Typen zu einer Form mit Basisvokal *i* zusammengefallen:

	Yāfa, ir-Ramle		il-Lidd, Samaritaner	
3 sg m	*nisi*	*ʾara*	*nisi*	*ʾiri*
3 sg f	*nisyat*	*ʾarat*	*nisyat*	*ʾiryat*
2 sg m	*nsīt*	*ʾarēt*	*nsīt*	*ʾrīt*
2 sg f	*nsīti*	*ʾarēti*	*nsīti*	*ʾrīti*
1 sg c	*nsīt*	*ʾarēt*	*nsīt*	*ʾrīt*
3 pl	*nisyu*	*ʾaru*	*nisyu*	*ʾiryu*
2 pl	*nsītu*	*ʾarētu*	*nsītu*	*ʾrītu*
1 pl	*nsīna*	*ʾarēna*	*nsīna*	*ʾrīna*[17]

[17] Die Samaritaner haben natürlich in der 1 pl *nsīne, ʾrīne.*

Im Imperfekt werden in allen Dialekten die Verben mit Basisvokal *a* (*yinsa, yiʾra*) von denjenigen mit Basisvokal *i* unterschieden (*yimši, yibki*).

3.2.6 *Flektierte Verbmodifikatoren*

Neben dem in allen Ansässigendialekten des syro-palästinensischen Raums verbreiteten *bidd-* zum Ausdruck von ‘wollen, mögen, werden’ wird *ʿammāl* zur Bezeichnung der aktuellen Gegenwart gebraucht. Die beiden Verbmodificatoren werden wie Nomina flektiert und nach beiden folgt das Verbum im Subjunktiv:

biddo yišrab	er will/wird trinken	*ʿammālo yišrab*	er trinkt gerade

3.2.7 *Verneinte Verbformen*

Die Verneinung erfolgt mit *mā* + *-š*, das an das folgende Verb suffigiert wird. Im Imperfekt kommt bei den Samaritanern auch *ā* + *-š* vor. Durch die Suffigierung von *-š* entstehen jedoch zahlreiche Probleme, die in den einzelnen Dialekten teilweise unterschiedlich gelöst werden.

1. Endet das Verbum konsonantisch, wird das Suffix *-š* meist mit einem Hilfsvokal vom vorangehenden Konsonanten getrennt:

nimt	ich schlief	*mā nimt*^{i}*š*	ich schlief nicht
ʾult	ich sagte	*mā ʾult*^{u}*š*	ich sagte nicht
bišrab	er trinkt	*mā bišrab*^{i}*š*	er trinkt nicht

2. Wenn durch den Antritt des Suffixes eine doppelt geschlossene Silbe entsteht, werden die Vokale *o* und *e* umgelautet:

buḍrob	er schlägt	*mā buḍrub*^{u}*š*	er schlägt nicht
binzel	er steigt hinab	*mā binzil*^{i}*š*	er steigt nicht hinab

In den meisten Dialekten gilt diese Regel auch nach den Pronominalsuffixen *-hom, -kom*:

šāfhom	er sah sie [pl]	*mā šafhumš*	er sah sie nicht

In den Dorfdialekten sowie im Dialekt von ir-Ramle und bei einigen Muslimen in Yāfa lauten die Formen jedoch:

mā šafhummiš	er sah sie [pl] nicht	*mā šafkummiš*	er sah euch nicht

Möglicherweise sind diese Formen mit der Zuwanderung von Landbewohnern in die Städte eingedrungen. Bei den Samaritanern schwindet auslautendes *-n* unter Ersatzdehnung des vorangehenden Vokals:

šāfhon	er sah sie [pl]	*mā šafhōš*	er sah sie nicht
šāfkon	er sah euch	*mā šafkōš*	er sah euch nicht
šufnāhon	wir sahen sie [pl]	*mā šufnahōš*	wir sahen sie nicht

Das Suffix der 2 sg f hat bei Antritt von *-š* die Variante *-kī*. In den Dorfdialekten und möglicherweise unter deren Einfluß auch in ir-Ramla, il-Lidd und bei vielen Muslimen in Yāfa hat auch die 2 sg m in Angleichung an die 2 sg f die Variante *-kā-*. Bei den Christen in Yāfa und bei den Samaritanern ist dagegen die alte Form erhalten.[18]

Yāfa und Samaritaner:

šāfak	er sah dich [m]	*mā šafak*^{i}*š*	er sah dich nicht
šāfek	er sah dich [f]	*mā šafkīš*	er sah dich nicht

Dorfdialekte, ir-Ramla und il-Lidd:

šāfak	er sah dich [m]	*mā šafkāš*	er sah dich nicht
šāfek	er sah dich [f]	*mā šafkīš*	er sah dich nicht

3. Endet das Verb auf Kv̄K, wird der Langvokal bei Antritt von *-š* gekürzt:

šāf	er sah	*mā šaf*^{i}*š*	er sah nicht

4. Endet das Verb mit einem unbetonten Vokal, so wird bei Antritt von *-š* die ursprüngliche Länge wiederhergestellt:

Samaritaner:

šufne	wir sahen	*mā šufnēš*	wir sahen nicht

Übrige Dialekte:

šufna	wir sahen	*mā šufnāš*	wir sahen nicht

5. Wird an eine vokalisch auslautende Verbform ein Suffix der 3 sg m angefügt, wird der kurze Auslautvokal gelängt:

šāfu	sie sahen	*šafū*	sie sahen ihn

Bei der Verneinung würden durch den Antritt von *-š* die beiden Formen zu einer Form zusammenfallen. Daher wird in allen Stadt- und Dorfdialekten der Langvokal gekürzt und das alte Suffix der 3 sg m *-hō* (< *hu*) wird wieder angefügt. Bei den Samaritanern tritt dagegen die Variante *-šši* an:

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[18] Man könnte natürlich auch argumentieren, daß sich in *mā šafkāš* altes *-ka* erhalten hat. In diesem Fall wäre die Verneinung mit *-š* sehr alt.

Samaritaner:

šufnā	wir sahen ihn	*mā šufnašši*	wir sahen ihn nicht
šafū	sie sahen ihn	*mā šafušši*	sie sahen ihn nicht

Übrige Dialekte:

šufnā	wir sahen ihn	*mā šufnahōš*	wir sahen ihn nicht
šafū	sie sahen ihn	*mā šafuhōš*	sie sahen ihn nicht

Aus den dargestellten Regeln ergibt sich, daß bei den Samaritanern *mā šufnahōš* "wir sahen sie [pl] nicht" heißt, in den übrigen Dialekten dagegen "wir sahen ihn nicht". So leicht kann es zu Mißverständnissen kommen.

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VON AN-ʾĀṢƏR (AL-QAṢR) NACH ĪGNI (ĪGLI): EIN VORBERICHT ZU EINIGEN ARABISCHEN DIALEKTEN DER PROVINZ ƏR-RAŠĪDĪYA (MAROKKO)

Peter Behnstedt
Cádiz

1. *Einleitung*

Als ich von den Herausgebern dieser Festschrift eingeladen wurde, dazu einen Beitrag zu liefern, war mir gleich klar, dass ich meinem alten Freund und dialektologischen Weggefährten Manfred Woidich etwas Besonderes bieten müsste. Zu bieten hatte ich seinerzeit nichts, denn mein Marokko-Projekt lag in den letzten Zügen.

Von einem Studenten in Kenitra hatte ich nun gehört, dass es irgendwo im Süden von Marokko ein Tal gäbe, dessen Bewohner /n/ für **l* aussprechen würden. Mir fiel sofort an-ʾĀṣər (al-Qaṣr) in den Daxla-Oasen ein, mir kamen unsere denkwürdigen Touren durch die ägyptischen Oasen in den Sinn, und ich dachte, die Beschreibung eines solchen marokkanischen *n*-Dialektes wäre eine schöne Verbindung zwischen unseren damaligen Untersuchungen, und meinen Marokko-Forschungen.

Das Tal hat mir der Student verständlicherweise nicht näher lokalisiert, da er irgendeine 'thèse' darüber schrieb. Da ich auch aus anderen Quellen wusste, dass in Süd-Marokko *n*-Dialekte existierten (Heath *ms.* I, 22–23 und 136 für Had Tahala),[1] habe ich mich im September 2001 auf die Suche nach diesen gemacht und von Spanien aus über 4000 km zurückgelegt, um den vorliegenden Beitrag schreiben zu können. Was tut man nicht alles für einen guten Freund! Ich habe mich zunächst ins Tafilalt begeben.[2] In Awfus habe ich jemanden auf der Strasse angesprochen, mich nach der Sprache des Orts erkundigt (Berberisch) und einfach ins Blaue gefragt: *w fīn kā-yhadru bən-nūn?* Antwort: *f-Zrīgāt!* Weiter südlich, im Hotel in Erfoud,

[1] Etwas südlich von Tafrawut (Anti-Atlas) in einem jüdisch-marokkanischen Dialekt.
[2] In ər-Rašīdīya, der Provinzhauptstadt, habe ich mich nicht aufgehalten (zuviel Polizei und Militär, keine Forschungsgenehmigung).

wurde mir Zrīgāt bestätigt. Man teilte mir ferner mit, dass auch in Īgli ein /n/ für ein *l* gesprochen würde. Ich fuhr zunächst nach Īgli, sprach zwei Endfünfziger und einen jungen Mann an. Sie hatten /n/ für *l*! Aber innerhalb von zehn Minuten war es zu einem regelrechten Volksauflauf gekommen, so dass wir uns schliesslich (die beiden Älteren, der junge Mann und ich) in den Schatten eines Felsens (*žbīna*) ausserhalb des Ortes flüchteten, dort die Befragung durchführten und zwei Tage später am selben Ort Tonbandaufnahmen machten. Die Befragung in Zrīgāt war schlicht ein Reinfall. Auch dort sass ein Volkshaufen um mich herum, jedoch sprachen alle konsequent ein /l/ für ein *l*. Ein paar Leute gaben allerdings verlegen grinsend zu, dass noch einige Ältere und Kinder kein /l/ sprechen könnten. Da sie aber auch bei anderen Formen nicht den echten Dialekt von sich gaben, habe ich die Befragung in Zrīgāt ziemlich abgekürzt und bin ins nächste Dorf, əz-Zāwya ž-Ždīda gefahren. Dort sprach man zwar kein /n/ für ein *l*, doch war der Dialekt so interessant, dass ich meinen Aufenthalt in Erfoud verlängerte.[3]

Die untersuchten Dialekte haben, wie die Dialekte der ägyptischen Oasen, absoluten Mischcharakter.[4] Man wird sie wohl als eigene marokkanische Dialektgruppe bezeichnen können. Sie weisen schon Züge auf, die in den Osten des Maghreb deuten. Die Dialekte von Erfoud und der ʿṚab Səbbāḥ (aufgenommen in Maʿdīd 3 km nördlich von Erfoud) sind quasi identisch und machen einen relativ abgeschliffenen Eindruck. Im folgenden werden diese Kürzel verwendet: MA = Marokkanisch-Arabisch, I = Īgli, ES = Erfoud und ʿṚab Səbbāḥ, Z = Zrīgāt, ZJ = əz-Zāwya ž-Ždīda.[5]

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[3] Dass man in Oasen mit die interessantesten und von der Norm abweichendsten Dialekte findet (vgl. die ägyptischen Oasen, Soukhne in Syrien, Touzeur in Tunesien usw.) ist nichts Neues. Dass man in ein paar Tagen solche Dialekte nur 'ankratzen' kann, weiss der Jubilar nur zu gut, der die ganzen letzten zwanzig Jahre in den ägyptischen Oasen 'tiefer geschürft hat'. Es versteht sich, dass hier aufgrund des vorgegebenen Umfangs nur ein geringer Teil des gesammelten Materials vorgestellt werden kann, z. B. nicht die vielen Formen der Diminutiva, etwa 'ein bisschen rot': *ḥmiyyər* I, *ḥmayyri* ZJ, *ḥməmmər* ES.).

[4] Die Gegend war wohl teilweise schon relativ früh arabisiert. Man denke nur an die ehemalige Hauptstadt des Tafilalt, Siǧilmāsa, bedeutende Handelsstadt und ein Zentrum islamischer Gelehrsamkeit, deren Blütezeit vom 9. bis ins 13. Jhdt. andauerte; siehe *Encyclopaedia of Islam* s.v.

[5] Jeffrey Heath hat ebenfalls Untersuchungen im Tafilalt durchgeführt, u. a. in ər-Rašīdīya, ər-Rīṣāni und Erfoud. Ich nehme auf sein MS bewusst keinen Bezug. Es sei nur festgestellt, dass die hier beschriebenen Besonderheiten in den von ihm untersuchten Dialekten nicht vorliegen.

2. *Phonologisches und Morphophonemisches*

2.1 *Konsonantismus*

2.1.1 *Reflexe von *ǧ, *ǧ im Kontakt mit Sibilanten*

Die untersuchten Dialekten haben für Ǧīm /ž/. In 'kritischen Formen' weichen sie nicht wesentlich von anderen marokkanischen Dialekten ab. In Klammern Formen des Casablanca-Dialekts, falls abweichend. Beispiele: *gəzzār* 'Metzger', *gəbṣ* 'Gips', *gəns!* 'setz dich!', *žūž* 'zwei', *džuwwəž* 'er heiratete', *šəṛžəm* 'Fenster', *šəṛž* 'Sattel' (*sərž*), *žənnīž* 'Fliesen' (*zəllīž*), *žāž* 'Glas', *dāz* 'er ging vorbei' (I).

2.1.2 *qāf*

Von den 81 Wurzeln, die die im folgenden vorgestellten Texte und der Fragebogen zu Īgli aufweisen, werden 40 mit /q/ und 41 mit /g/ realisiert, wir haben also in ungefähr ein Verhältnis von 50:50.[6] In den übrigen Dialekten ist es nicht viel anders. Dies zeigt deutlich den Mischcharakter unserer Dialekte.

2.1.3 *Die altarabischen Interdentalen*

Die altarabischen Interdentalen sind zu Verschlusslauten verschoben. Die Affrizierung von **ṯ* und **t* ist nicht überall gleich ausgeprägt. Bei den Informanten aus Īgli wurde sie kaum festgestellt.

2.1.4 *Lautwandel *l > n*

Der Lautwandel **l* > *n* ist systematisch in Zrīgāt und Īgli. Zu Homonymenkonflikten ist es dabei offensichtlich nicht gekommen: *kənt* 'ich war' = 'ich ass', *kānu* 'sie waren' = 'sie assen'. *žbən* 'Berg' = 'Käse' etc. Die beiden älteren Informanten aus Īgli konnten praktisch kein /l/ aussprechen, lediglich der Jüngere lieferte ein paar halbrichtige Formen wie *šəllān* 'Wasserfall' und einige hyperkorrekte Formen wie *ləʿlāʿ* 'Pfefferminz', *ḥəlla* 'Henna'.[7]

Īgli liegt ca. 70 km westlich von Erfoud. Bis nach əž-Žuṛf wird noch Arabisch gesprochen, danach Berberisch (Tašəlḥit). In Īgli selbst sprechen ca. 3/4 der Bevölkerung Arabisch (*n*-Dialekt), es handelt

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[6] Ähnlich wie in Balāṭ in den Daxla-Oasen. Vgl. Behnstedt & Woidich (1982:42) und Behnstedt & Woidich (1985: Karte 6).

[7] Vgl. Woidich (2002:823).

sich bei ihnen um Mrābṭīn[8] und Ḥṛātən,[9] 1/3 der Bewohner spricht Berberisch.[10] Im Berberischen von Īgli konnte der bewusste Lautwandel nicht festgestellt werden, auch nicht in Uxit. Für den hinter Īgli liegenden Ort Tinždad hiess es jedoch, der berberische Ortsdialekt habe **l* zu /n/ verschoben, und auch andere Berber-Dialekte der Gegend hätten diese Erscheinung. Auf der Fahrt nach Uxit habe ich zwei Frauen, die auf dem Weg dorthin waren, bei mir einsteigen lassen. Die eine konnte kein Arabisch, die andere teilte auf Arabisch mit, aus dem berbersprachigen Turug zu stammen, das vor Īgli liegt. Sie gab an, eine Mrābṭa zu sein, als Muttersprache Berberisch zu haben, und sprach in ihrem Arabisch konsequent /n/ für **l*, etwa in *naʾ!* 'nein!'.

Nach dem Aufenthalt im Tafilalt fuhr ich ins Dərʿa-Tal (Draa-Tal). Im Hotel in Amzru, einem völlig vertouristeten Vorort von Zagora, von dem der ganze Sahara-Tourismus ausgeht, habe ich mich beim Hotelpersonal kundig gemacht und die übliche Frage gestellt: *fīn kā-yhadru bən-nūn?* Eine Angestellte, die einige Monate in Tamgrut gearbeitet hatte, nannte mir alle wichtigen Orte der Gegend, in denen man "mit dem Nūn spricht": Tamgrut, Wlad Bṛahəm, Askžur. Sollte das Draa-Tal etwa dieses geheimnisvolle Tal sein? In Tamgrut selbst, ebenso vertouristet wie Amzru,[11] wurde das Nūn abgestritten und für den 1,5 km westlich davon liegenden Ort Tazruṭ genannt. Die Enquête in der Gegend bis hinunter nach Mḥāmīd ergab, dass der bewusste Lautwandel zwischen Zagora und Askžur zu lokalisieren ist.[12] Sie ergab aber auch, dass die mir genannten Orte, bis auf Tamgrut, berbersprachig sind.[13] In den Berberdialekten,

[8] Keine *šurfa*, sondern Abkömmlinge von Heiligen, siehe Iraqui-Zinaceur (1993:III, 594).

[9] Ein guter Teil der Bevölkerung des Tafilalt ist negroid (Ḥṛātən). Es handelt sich um ehemalige Sklaven, die dort unter anderem zum Bau und zur Säuberung der unterirdischen Bewässerungsgräben (*fuggāṛa* oder *xaṭṭāṛa*, ähnlich dem persischen *qanāt*-System) eingesetzt wurden. In ZJ sprechen die Ḥṛātən Arabisch, der Rest des Dorfes Berberisch.

[10] Der Ort ist also eine arabische Sprachinsel inmitten des Berberischen.

[11] Es befindet sich dort eine berühmte *zāwya* mit einer Bibliothek von über 40000 Bänden.

[12] Weiter südlich in Qṣar Naṣrat wird immer noch Berberisch gesprochen. Der Dialekt hat **l* erhalten. Auch in den arabischen Dialekten von Wlād Drīs und Mḥāmīd (in letzterem wird schon der Ḥassānīya-Dialekt gesprochen), ist es zu keiner Verschiebung **l* > *n* gekommen.

[13] In Wlād Bṛāhəm meinten die Informanten, die Orte nördlich von ihnen bis nach Zagora hätten einen arabischen 'Kern', um sie herum würden Berber leben.

etwa in Wlad Bṛahəm, ist **l* zu /n/ verschoben: **tislit* > *tisnit* 'Braut', **taġyult* > *taġyunt* 'Eselin', **ils* > *ins* 'Zunge', und entsprechend gilt das auch für das Arabische dieser Orte: *nsān* 'Zunge'. /n/ für **l* wurde auch hier teilweise verleugnet, und es wurden halbrichtige Formen und Hyperkorrektionen vom Typ *ṭēr əl-līn* 'Fledermaus', *ləʿža* 'Schaf' produziert. Das Berberische hat offensichtlich ein Problem mit den Liquiden, man denke nur an die Verschiebung von *l* > *r* in den Rīf-Dialekten (*tislit* > *ṯisriṯ*), und es scheint mir, dass man den angesprochenen Lautwandel im Arabischen unserer Gegend auf dem Hintergrund des Berberischen sehen kann.

Die Frage stellt sich nun, ob man dieselbe Verschiebung in den Daxla-Oasen damit in Zusammenhang bringen kann, oder ob es sich nur um einen Zufall handelt, dass in Luftlinie über 3000 km auseinanderliegende Orte dieselbe Lautverschiebung aufweisen. Ein berberisches Bevölkerungselement ist in den ägyptischen Oasen eindeutig nachzuweisen. Al-Kindī (130), der für das Jahr 746 ganz allgemein von den Oasen spricht, erwähnt als ihre Bewohner lediglich die Masāla und die Berber, wobei Masāla, von der Form her, sich wohl auch auf einen Berberstamm beziehen dürfte. Von Farafra sagt al-Yaʿqūbī (187), dass dort 'Ägypter' wohnen 'und andere Leute'. Widersprüchlich sind die Angaben von al-Masʿūdī und al-Isṭaxrī. Nach letzterem seien sie unbewohnt, nach dem ersten 'blühende Landschaften', ein Widerspruch, der sich auch bei nachfolgenden Geographen (al-Muqaddasī) findet und darauf deutet, dass sie einfach kopiert haben (Décobert 1981:107ff). Ibn Ḥawqal (151ff) zitiert zuerst al-Isṭaxrī (ohne ihn namentlich zu nennen), dass sie also unbewohnt seien, korrigiert diese Information (Décobert 1981:112) und fügt hinzu, dass die Bewohner der Oasen vor der islamischen Eroberung Griechen gewesen seien und dass die Gegend nun unter der Herrschaft des ʿAbdūn-Geschlechts von den Lawāta-Berbern stünde. In allen vier Oasen erwähnt er Burgen der ʿAbdūn.[14] Al-Maqrīzī S. 236 tradiert, dass die Oasen von einem koptischen König kultiviert worden seien und dass sich ihre koptischen Bewohner mit den Berbern vermischt hätten und sie im Jahr 943/4 (n. Chr.) unter der Herrschaft des Berberfürsten vom Stamm der Lawāta ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān gestanden hätten. Nachdem nun auch der Jubilar

[14] Vgl. Qaṣr al-Farāfira, il-Gaṣir in den Baḥariyya-Oasen und an-ʾĀṣər in den Daxla-Oasen.

in Woidich (1995–1997:22, 26) den Vokalwechsel *i* > *a* bei Negation *ʿandih*—*ma ʿandahš* mit dem Berberischen in Verbindung gebracht hat, ist ein Zusammenhang zwischen **l* > *n* in den Daxla-Oasen und dem Berberischen zumindest in Erwägung zu ziehen.[15]

2.1.5 *Labialisierte Konsonanten*

Alle untersuchten Orte haben labialisierte Konsonanten, wie man dies in den meisten hilalischen Dialekten Marokkos vorfindet. Das Thema ist schon ausgiebig behandelt worden und je nach Schule unterschiedlich interpretiert worden. Nach Voigt (1966:29) setzt "die Entstehung von labiovelaren und anderen labialisierten Phonemen die Reduzierung (oder Zentralisierung) der Kurzvokale voraus". Dies ist in unserem Fall sicher richtig für Beispiele wie *q*^{w}*dām* 'alte', *k*^{w}*bāṛ* 'grosse', *ġ*^{w}*lāḍ* 'dicke', *tāk*^{w}*li* 'du [fem.] isst'. In Formen wie *dukk*^{w}*āṛ* 'Samen der Dattelpalme', *ʿugg*^{w}*ād* 'Band aus Palmblättern' (Plural ^{aʿ}*g*^{w}*āgīd*) liegt nach meiner Auffassung ein ganz normales kurzes /u/ vor, das Labialisierung des nachfolgenden Konsonanten bewirkt hat.

2.1.6 *Geminaten -bb-, -dd- und -gg-*

Die Geminaten *-bb-, -dd-* und *-gg-* werden im Dialekt von ZJ zu nicht aspirierten *-pp-, -tt-* und *-kk-* entsonorisiert, als 'Kompromiss' kommen daneben auch stimmlose *-bb-, -dd-* und *-gg-* vor.[16] Für das MA ist diese Erscheinung, soweit ich sehe, bisher nicht belegt. Sie ist jedoch im Zentral-Jemen weit verbreitet.[17] Beispiele:

> *duggīt* > *dukkīt* 'ich mörserte'
> *l-yiddīn* > *līttīn* 'die Hände'
> *žəddi* > *žətti* 'mein Grossvater' (entsprechend *žəttāti* 'meine Grossmutter')
> *ʿīn əd-dāṛ* > *ʿīnttāṛ* 'Oberlicht in der Zimmerdecke'
> *xabbāṭa* > *xappāṭa* 'Fußsohle'

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[15] Er hält die Verbindung allerdings für "highly speculative until solid evidence of Berber admixture in Dakhla Arabic is provided". Vielleicht ist **l* > *n* ja ein weiteres Element, zusammen mit den besiedlungsgeschichtlichen Fakten, für eine solche "admixture". In Woidich (2002:823) wird auch ein Fall mit *l* > *r* Verschiebung aufgegeführt: *hawṛāh! wuṛāh!* 'Junge!', neben *wnāh* ~ *ya wnāh !* Mündlich hat mir der Jubilar mitgeteilt, in Zentral-Dakhla *raxra* neben *naxna* 'Palme' gehört zu haben.

[16] Wie etwa in süddeutschen Dialekten. So festgestellt bei einem meiner drei männlichen Informanten, der auf die Oberschule ging. Seine Brüder, die Bauern waren, gebrauchten die anderen Aussprachen.

[17] Vgl. Jastrow (1984:292). Zur geographischen Verbreitung siehe Behnstedt (1985:47).

bībbūš > *bīppūš* 'Schnecken'
bū ḥdībba > *bū ḥdīppa* 'Buckliger'
ṣubbāṭ > *ṣuppāṭ* (pl. *ṣbābəṭ*) 'Schuh'
nubbʷīta > *nuppʷīta* 'Ableger an der Dattelpalme'.[18]

2.2 *Vokalismus*

2.2.1 *Langvokale und Diphthonge*

Die alten Diphthonge **ay* und **aw* sind monophthongiert. Lediglich in ES wurde /ay/ in *ʿayn* 'Auge' festgestellt. Die Dualendung *-*ayn* wurde zu *-āyn: yūmāyn* 'zwei Tage', *mītrāyn* 'zwei Meter', *šəbrāyn* 'zwei Spannen' (ES).

Ob es im 'Marokkanisch-Arabischen' die Langvokale /ā/, /ī/, /ū/ mit den Allophonen [e:] und [o:]—oder nur die Vollvokale /a/, /i/, /u/ und einen kurzen Vokal /ə/ gibt, ist eine Frage der Schule.[19] Gleiches gilt für [kʊnt], das für die einen ein /kunt/ ist, für die anderen ein /kʷənt/. Ich halte es mehr mit Caubet als mit Heath und für mich zeigen Minimalpaare wie [kḥal] 'schwarz'—[kḥa:l] 'er wurde schwarz', [fxad] 'Schenkel [sg.]'—[fxa:d] 'Schenkel [pl.]', dass es Längen in den beschriebenen Dialekten gibt. Auffällig ist, dass die Allophone [e:] und [o:] in ES und ZJ relativ selten sind und oft /ī/ und /ū/ stehen: *bʷīḍa* 'Ei', *ʿīb* 'Schande', *xīma* 'Zelt', *fūg* 'oben', *sōq* 'Markt' (ES), *mrīḍ* 'krank', *ṭbīb* 'Arzt' (ZJ), hingegen in Z und ZJ *xēma* 'Zelt', *fōq* 'oben'.

2.2.2 *Kurzvokale*

Die Kurzvokale **a* und **i* , teilweise auch **u*, sind in /ə/ zusammengefallen: **qarn* > *gərn* 'Horn', *kunt* > *kənt* 'ich war', *ʾ*akalt* > *kənt* 'ich ass', *lbist* > *nbəst* 'ich zog [Kleider] an', *həzz* 'er hob auf, heb auf!' (I). Neben dem phonetischen Wert [ə], etwa in *bəṣna* 'Zwiebel' (I) hat /ə/ noch die Allophone [a] in hinterer konsonantischer Umgebung: *kḥal* 'schwarz', *wqaf* 'er hielt an', *wžaʿ* 'er tat weh' und [ɪ] in palataler Umgebung: *yibsāt* 'sie trocknete', *bbʷiyyər* 'kleiner Brunnen', *ʿžil* 'Stier' (vs. *ʿžīl* 'Kalb'), *siknu* 'sie wohnten', *ngilbət* 'sie

[18] Der unten am Stamm herauswächst, Wurzeln hat und gesetzt werden kann. Der aus dem Stamm herauswachsende Trieb heisst *rukkʷība*, er hat keine Wurzeln und wird abgehackt (siehe Behnstedt & Woidich 1999: 209ff 'Palme').
[19] Vgl. Behnstedt & Benabbou (2002:61).

fiel um'. Beispiele für eine Opposition /ə/ : /u/ sind: *skət—skut!* 'er schwieg—schweig! (I), *dxal—dxul* 'er trat ein—tritt ein!' (ES). Insbesondere bei Formen mit Sibilanten und Frikativen ist /ə/ nicht mehr zu hören: *sffa*: 'Kuskusgericht'[20] (ZJ), *fṣṣa*: 'Luzerne' (I).

2.3. *KvKK vs. KKvK, KKvKv*

Liegt ein Liquid bzw. ein Nasal (= R) vor, so kommt es in allen untersuchten Dialekten sehr häufig zur Metathese von KRvK · KvRK, wie etwa im Dialekt von Skūra (Aguadé 1995:39): *ṭrəš* > *ṭərš* 'taub' (I), **gləs!* > *gəns!* 'sitz!' (I), *ḥṛag* > *ḥaṛg* 'er verbrannte' (I), *wrət* > *wərt* 'er erbte' (alle Punkte). Entsprechend auch in anderen Formen: *twəld* (*twənd* in I) 'sie gebärt', *twərt* 'sie erbt' (alle Punkte), *naḥfərt* 'sie wurde gegraben', *nṭḥant* 'sie wurde gemahlen', *ygənb* 'er wendet um, pflügt' (I), *ʿagṛab* > *aʿgaṛb* 'Skorpion' (alle Punkte), vergleiche auch: **mərfəg* > *məfrəg* > *nfərg* [sic!] 'Ellbogen' (I).[21]

Bemerkenswert sind die Metathesen im Dialekt von ZJ bei den hohlen Verben:

fəqt > *fqət* 'ich stand auf'	*xəft* > *xfət* 'ich fürchtete'
dəqt > *dqət* 'ich kostete'	*sərt* > *srət* 'ich ging'
ṣəmt > *ṣmət* 'ich fastete'	*səgt* > *sgət* 'ich fuhr'
bəʿt > *bʿət* 'ich verkaufte'	*žəʿt* > *žʿət* 'ich wurde hungrig'

Nicht möglich ist dies, wenn homorgane Konsonanten vorliegen, etwa in *nəḍt* 'ich stand auf'. In der Form für 'ich sah' hat sich **f* an das folgende *-t* assimiliert: *šətt*, so dass hier ebenfalls keine Umstellung möglich ist. 'Ich brachte' lautet *žəbt*. *žbət* wurde von den Informanten als ||*žbəd-t*|| 'ich zog' interpretiert. Bei Formen mit /r/ stellt man Schwankungen fest: *srət* 'ich ging' vs. *ṭərt* 'ich flog'.

Völlig aus dem Rahmen fallen in allen untersuchten Dialekten betonte kurze Vokale in offener Silbe, etwa in *žnəbi* 'neben mir, meine Seite' (in allen Untersuchungspunkten), *žnəbək* 'neben dir' (ES), *žmən* 'Kamele'—*žməna* 'Kamelin' (I). Nach allen Regeln der maghrebinischen Dialektkunst müsste hier Vokalumsprung stattfinden, also *žənbi, žənbək, žəmna*.[22] In I wurden Schwankungen festgestellt. Der

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[20] Aus Gries mit Puderzucker, Mandeln und mit Pfeffer bestreuten Eiern.

[21] Diese Metathesen sind nicht immer regelmässig, und so wurde für I neben *bnəḥ* 'grüne Datteln' auch *bənḥ* festgestellt.

[22] Dies gilt nicht für die ost-libyschen Dialekte: *nzilat, bguṛa* usw.

eine Informant gebrauchte mehrmals *žmәna* ‘Kamelin’, einmal aber auch *žәmna*. Von mir gehörtes *skәnu* [skínu] ‘sie wohnten’, hat er beim Nachhaken als *sәknu* [síknu] ausgesprochen. Dem Phänomen ist noch näher nachzugehen.

3. *Morphologisches*

3.1 *Verbalmorphologie*

In allen Dialekten wird bei der 2.sg. Perfekt und Imperfekt zwischen Maskulin und Feminin unterschieden: *nbәst* m.—*nbәsti* f. ‘du zogst [Kleider] an’, *tәšṛab* m.—*tšәrbi* f. ‘du trinkst’ (I). Die 3.sg.f. Perfekt hat die Endung *-āt: šәṛbāt* ‘sie trank’, *wuṣlāt* ‘sie kam an’, entsprechend auch bei Suffigierung von *-v(k): xәllātu* ‘sie liess ihn’, *hәrrsātu* ‘sie machte ihn kaputt’. Ausnahme sind die hohlen Verben: *šāft* ‘sie sah’, *šāftu* ‘sie sah ihn’, *tbāʿәt* ‘sie wurde verkauft’. Der Reflexiv-Passivstamm zum Grundstamm wird in ES vorherrschend mit *t-* gebildet: *tәqlāt* ‘sie wurde gebraten’, in I kommen Bildungen mit *n-* und *t-* vor: *nәžṛaḥ* ‘er wurde verwundet’, *ngәnbәt* ‘sie kippte um’, *nәqtәn* ‘er wurde getötet’, *nḥәnn* ‘er wurde geöffnet’, was wiederum den Mischcharakter der Dialekte zeigt. Die Endung der 3.sg.f. Perfekt bei diesen Stämmen ist nicht einheitlich, man stellt Schwankungen im einzelnen Dialekt und zwischen den Dialekten fest: *tәḥfrātˢ* ‘sie wurde gegraben’ vs. *tgәlbәtˢ* ‘sie kippte um’ (ES), *tḥәlbәt* ‘sie wurde gemolken’, *tḥaṛgәt* ‘sie wurde verbrannt, *tqalbәt* (Z) vs. *tgәlbәt, tḥaṛgәt*—*tḥәlbāt* in (ZJ).

Das Verb ‘essen’ im Perfekt ist in ZJ vom standardmarokkanischen Typ *klā* 3.sg.m., *klīt* 1.sg., in Z wurden gemischte Formen genannt: *kәlt* 1./2.sg.m., *kәlti* sg.f., *kәl* 3.sg.m., aber *klāt* 3.sg.f. Auch für ES wurden Schwankungen festgestellt: *klīt* ~ *kәlt* 1.sg., *klīna* ~ *kәlna* 1.pl., *kәl* 3.sg.m. vs. *klāt* 3.sg.f. In allen genannten Orten lautet die 3.pl. *klāw*. In I wurde wie in ZJ ein einheitliches Paradigma festgestellt:

sg.	*kәnt* 1. *kәnt* 2.m. *kәnti* 2.f. *kān* 3.m. *kānt* 3.f.	pl.	*kәnna* 1. *kәntu* 2. *kānu* 3.

Für die 3.m. müsste man eigentlich *kən* erwarten, offensichtlich liegt hier Angleichung an die hohlen Verben vor. Das Paradigma unterscheidet sich nicht von dem von *kān* 'sein'.

Bei dem Verb 'kommen' ist der Imperativ in I erwähnenswert, nämlich: *tʿāna* m. *tʿāni* f., *tʿānu* pl., gegenüber gängigeren *āži* m./f., *āžīw!* in den anderen Orten.

Der Verbmodifikator Präsens ist in ES, Z, ZJ *kā-*, in I vorherrschend *tā-*. Verbmodifikator Futur ist überall *ġādi*, das noch nicht zur Partikel erstarrt ist, sondern voll flektiert wird: *ġādya təmši* 'sie wird gehen', *ġādyīn nəmšīw* 'wir werden gehen'.

3.2 *Nomen*

3.2.1 *Pluralformen KKāK(ə)K/KKāKīK*

Bei den Pluralformen KKāK(ə)K/KKāKīK 'bevorzugt' ES das 'beduinische' Schema:

deutsch	Z, ZJ, I[23]	ES
'Schlüssel'	*swārət*	*swārt*
'Achillessehnen'	*ʿṛāgəb*	*ᵃʿrāgīb*
'Igel'	*gnāfəd*	*gnāfīd*
'Läden'	*ḥwānt*	*ḥwānət*
'Lappen'	*šṛāwəṭ (šṛāwṭ)*	*šṛāwīṭ*
'Nägel'	*msāmər*	*msāmīr*
'Armreife'	*dbāləž (dbānəž)*	*dbālīž*
'Küken'	*flāləs (fnānəs)*	*flālīs*

3.2.2 *Pronomina und Pronominalsuffixe*

Die Dialekte weisen keine Besonderheiten bei den Pronomina auf (*āna, nta—nti, huwwa, hiyya, ḥna, ntūma, hūma*). Lediglich I fällt mit *āni* 'ich' aus dem Rahmen und ES mit *ntīya* 'du [f.]' Eine weitere Besonderheit von I sind die Pronominalsuffixe der 2.Person sg. Hier wird zwischen maskulinem *-ək* [ɪk] und femininem *-ki* unterschieden: *ʿandək—ʿandki* 'bei dir', *šəftək—šəftki* 'ich sah dich', *gānnək—gānnki* 'er sagte dir', *rəžnīk—rəžnīki* 'deine Füsse' etc. Im MA ist dies, soweit ich sehe, bisher nicht belegt, und eine weitere Erinnerung an die

[23] In Klammern, falls abweichend.

ägyptischen Oasen.[24] Bemerkenswert sind die Suffixe der 2. und 3.pl. Sie lauten in allen Untersuchungsorten *-ku* und *-hu: ʿandku* 'bei euch', *ʿandhu* 'bei ihnen', vgl. auch *ma ʿandūš* 'er hat nicht' vs. *ma ʿandhūš* 'sie haben nicht'. Verlust des *-m* bei der 2.pl. ist auch für das Ägyptisch-Arabische belegt: *ʿanduku*, für die 3.pl. ist er für die Oase Palmyra belegt (*ʿandhu*). Gemeinhin würde man hier Analogiebildung nach den entsprechenden Verbformen ansetzen. Nachdem ich aber mehrmals in I Verlust eines auslautenden *-n* gehört hatte, etwa in *sənnī* ~ *sənnīn* 'Zähne', *mnī?* 'woher?' (nur so!), *aḥardō* 'Dornschwanzeidechse (Uromastix)' (nur so), und auch die Berberdialekte der Gegend in einigen Formen **-m* und **-n* elidiert haben: **aqəmmum* > *aqəmmu* 'Schädeldach', **aḥardan* > *aḥarda* 'Uromastix', könnte auch eine andere Interpretation des Phänomens vorgenommen werden.

3.2.3 *Demonstrativa und Demonstrativadverben, Interrogativa*

Die Demonstrativpronomina weichen nicht vom Standard-Marokkanischen ab (*hāda, hādi, hādu, hadāk, hādīk, hādūk*). In Īgli werden für referentielles 'jener', d.h. 'der bewusste, der erwähnte', häufig die Kurzformen *dāk* und *dīk* verwendet. Die Form für 'jetzt' lautet *drōk* (Z, ZJ) oder *drūk*. Dies weist eindeutig in den Osten (Algerien, Nordost-Marokko). Von den Interrogativa sind folgende Formen erwähnenswert: *āš* 'was?' (alle Orte), *mnī* 'woher?' (I), *fūg* 'wann?' (ES), eine Form, die auch in Nordost-Marokko vorkommt, sonst ist *fūqāš* üblich.

4. *Lexikalisches*

Die Dialekte weisen eine Reihe interessanter Formen auf, etwa *qžən*, pl. *qžūn* 'Wange' (ZJ), *šaʿbāṛ* 'Schwanz' (Z), *dəmmān* 'Widder', *sbīʿ əl-fīrān* 'Wüstenspringmaus' (ZJ), *nāṛba*, pl. *ərnəb* 'Hase', *ləḥḥīst əl-məlḥ* (Z), *lḥīḥīst l-əmləḥ* (ZJ) 'Gecko'.[25] Für 'Karotten' wurden drei Formen festgestellt, nämlich *xīzzu* (Z, ZJ), *sfrānīya* in ES, wobei es in Erfoud hiess, *sfrānīya* würde nur noch von den Älteren gebraucht, moderner sei *xīzzu*. Die Form *sfrānīya* würde man eigentlich eher in Tunesien

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[24] *-ki* ist für einige nordostmarokkanischen Dialekte nur (!) in *ʿəndki* 'bei dir' belegt (sonst *-ək*!), sowie für das 'Pseudoverb' *ṛāk—ṛāki* 'du bist, te voici'.

[25] Die Form zeigt, dass auch hier der Aberglaube herrscht wie in Ägypten, dass der Gecko das Salz stiehlt.

ansiedeln! Für Īgli wurde die Form *zrūdīya* genannt, eine typisch algerische Form, die auch noch in den (eher algerischen) Dialekten Nordost-Marokkos üblich ist. 'Der Geizige' zieht die Synonyme bzw. Heteronyme geradezu an. Genannt wurden *qəfqāf* (Z), *fənyān*[26] ~ *məqqāq* (ZJ), *zərkāk* ~ *qənzāz* (ES), *šḥēḥ* (I). 'Der Regenbogen' hat in Z und ZJ eine Bezeichnung, die sich ähnlich in Nordost-Marokko findet, nämlich *sīdi zīn əgdaḥ*. Die Form in I *ʿārūs s-sḥāb* ist eine Lehnübersetzung aus dem Berberischen *tislit n-unzar* 'Braut des Regens'. Das Wort für 'Regen' ist per Metonymie *sḥāb: ṭāḥt s-sḥāb* 'es hat geregnet', 'Wolken' heissen *ġyām*.

Einige Formen sind leicht als berberischen Ursprungs zu erkennen, etwa *tāwtūnt* 'Hase', *tīqnīt* 'Gecko', *āḥardō* 'Uromastix'[27] in Īgli.

Die Palmenterminologie stimmt ca. zur Hälfte mit der der ägyptischen Oasen überein. Beispiele aus ZJ: *ždər* 'Wurzeln', *qāma* 'Stamm', *ġəzzāl* 'Blattscheide', *kərnāf* 'Blattscheide [= dickes Ende des Palmwedels, das beim Ausschneiden am Stamm bleibt und vertrocknet]', *žrīd* 'Palmwedel [pl.]', *zʿəf* 'Palmblätter', *šūk* 'Dornen', *fdām* 'Palmbast', *gəlb* 'Scheinstamm', *žummāṛ* 'Palmenherz', *ʿaṛžūn* 'Fruchtstand', *qīwān* 'Deckblatt des Fruchtstandes', *zīwān* 'Stengel des Fruchtstandes und des männlichen Samenkolbens' (I = *āqbūr*), *zrūr*, sg. *-a*, 'Blütenähre des Fruchtstandes und des Samenkolbens', *būqāl* 'männlicher Samenkolben', *dukk*^{w}*āṛ* 'Samen, männliche Palme', *ġubṛa* 'Blütenstaub' (Īgli *dǵīǵ*).

Abschliessen möchte ich das Kapitel Lexikon mit einem Wort, das mich besonders amüsiert hat, und das sich in keinem der existierenden marokkanischen Wörterbücher findet, nämlich *kōžák* für 'Lutscher'. Die Etymologie war mir sofort klar, meinen Informanten in ZJ nicht. Das Wort stammt aus der amerikanischen Fernseh-Serie *Kojak*, in der der Hauptdarsteller Telly Savalas, der Kommissar Kojak, immer einen Lutscher im Mund hat. In Erfoud im Hotel hat man mir die Etymologie bestätigt: 'Das kommt von dem Glatzkopf mit dem Lutscher!'. Die Form ist gemeinmarokkanisch. Ein schönes Beispiel dafür, wie aus einem Appellativum ein Gattungsbegriff wird.

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[26] Aus dem französischen *fainéant* 'Nichtsnutz'.

[27] Das seinerseits wiederum aus dem syrisch-arabischen *ḥardōn* stammt, d.h. von syrischen Stämmen in den Maghreb gebracht wurde. Normalerweise haben die anderen mir bekannten marokkanischen Dialekte dafür *ḍabb*.

Anhang

Text aus Īgli: In einer Gegend, die als der Palmengarten Marokkos gilt, drängt sich das Thema 'Palmen' geradezu auf.[28]

1. əḥnā́, tā-ykūn ʿandna n-fəddān. 2. tā-ykūn waḥd ən-fəddān w bġīna ndīrū n-nxən, nəxᵊn. 3. ən-fəddān tā-ngənbū w tā-ngūnu tā-nərfdu dāk n-ʿᵊnə́f, n-ʿə́nᵊf. 4. tā-tzərʿū fəl-ġāba hākka fən-firma. 5. kā-nzərʿū, tā-yžīk tāktūr[29] *wənna n-fas,*[30] *tā-yənḥaṛt. 6. tā-yitqnəb ət-tṛāb,*[31] *əʿnīha, tāk ən-ʿənf. 7. tā-nəbdāw nḥaṛtū, w tā-yṭīḥ ʿnīh, tā-yṭīḥ ʿnīh tṛāb. 8. tā-təġṭā́ n-ʿənf. 9. tā-nəbdāw nšaṛṛbū, dīk ən-firma.*[32] *10. tā-ndīrūha haz-zraʿ, wənna n-fṣṣā. 11. tā-ydōr ən-ʿām, īn yínbət ən-fṣṣā, tənbət hādīk əz-zaʿfa, ət-tmaṛ. 12. tībda*[33] *yinbít. 13. tā-yžī zād ən-ʿām n-āxoṛ. 14. īn nəxdmūha tā-nḥayydū ʿnīh. 15. tā-yigʿúd hādi z-zaʿfa, təbqa nābtˢa,*[34] *nəbbāta. 16. w nəbdāw nḍarbū bən-fās, tā-tūṣən w txannīha gāʿda. 17. w nžəmʿu ʿnīha tṛāb. 18. žā t-tāktūṛ, tā-yḥayyid ʿnīh, w txannīh. 19. īn ydīr w tḥərt əz-zraʿ wənna n-fṣṣa w bdā zād yišṛáb.*[35] *20. n-ʿām ənni žạ̄ tā-ddīr žrīd, dāyra aṛbaʿ žrīdāt. 21. tā-ydōṛ n-ʿām dārət ʿašṛa. 22. hā-hiyya kbərt tā-nžībūnu n-əmzəbṛa w tā-nsəggṭūha, tā-nsəggṭūha bəd-dōṛ, ṣfūf, ṣfūf. 23. ən-ʿām ənni žạ̄, tā-tsəggəṭha, ən-ʿām ənni twənd, tā-ddīr ən-ʿaṛžūn. 24. īna ṣġīra tā-ndīrūnha rkīza, mattāga.*[36] *25. w tšədd ən-ʿaṛžūn hākk! fhəmt? 26. w tā-tšəddū́, hā-hiyya wuṣnāt ət-tmaṛ. 27. dīk ənni ṭābt tā-nžīw nʿabbīwha, fīha t-tməṛ, ṭāyba. 28. w tā-nginnʿū, nginnʿu*

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[28] Was sich hier so leicht liest, basiert auf harter Arbeit und ohne die Mitwirkung zweier Jugendlicher aus Īgli in Erfoud, mit denen ich meine Vortranskription durchgegangen bin, würde der Text hier nicht stehen. 60% hatte ich richtig verstanden, 30% glaubte ich verstanden zu haben, den Rest hatte ich nicht verstanden. Die Jugendlichen erkannten in dem Sprecher Nr. 1 den Mann ihrer Tante mütterlicherseits, und es ist wohl davon auszugehen, dass *sie* ihren Verwandten richtig verstanden haben.

[29] So, ohne /r/.

[30] Mit Kürzung von /ā/.

[31] Bei den Sonnenbuchstaben verhält sich der bestimmte Artikel *(ə)n-* unterschiedlich, teils assimiliert sich *n-*, teils unterbleibt die Assimilation.

[32] Aus dem französischen 'ferme' mit Bedeutungsverschiebung.

[33] *tā-yibda* > *tībda*.

[34] Einer der seltenen Fälle mit affriziertem /t/.

[35] In Formen, in denen der Akzent schwanken kann, wird er notiert. Ansonsten gelten die für arabische Dialekte hinlänglich bekannten Regeln. Für manche Marokkanisten gibt es keinen Akzent im Marokkanisch Arabischen. Caubet erwähnt ihn mit keinem Wort.

[36] Berberische Glossierung für *rkīza*, so jedenfalls die beiden Jugendlichen aus Īgli, die mir bei der Transkription behilflich waren. Das Wort klingt von der Form nich sehr berberisch.

īna wāḥəd š̄haṛ. 29. b-ḥān dāba drūk[37] *qārīb*[38] *wāḥəd təbqa wāḥəd xaməsṭāš mən ōktōbər, ngūnu ktōbər. 30. ṛāh ykūn ʿandku fəl-xārīṭa, ōktōbər. 31. mnīn tā-yəwṣən ōktōbər tā-nəmšu nqaṭʿūha. 32. ənni hiyya ṛāha məzyāna, bġīna nṣēfṭu n-wāḥəd ṣāḥbək wənna tḥādīha. 33. bīha tā-ndīru ḥna n-əḥbə́n, hnā. 34. w təqṭaʿ n-ʿaṛžūn w tdənnēh, w tā-yəwṣən n-ʿaṛžūn tā-nəbdāw nnaqqīwəh, tā-yṭarḥū nhēh, w taʿṭēh n-wāḥəd ṣāḥbək, īna šī ḍyāf bġāw yžīwk, tā-ṭṭərḥūnu məzyān, w tnaqqīh. 35. bġīt zād tʿabbīha fən-fūq waḥda b-waḥda w tʿammər waḥd ən-ṣəndōq, kōṛba*[39] *w yigʿúd, wənna šənnāna, w nwaddīwha fət-tənnāža təgʿud gāʿəd*[40] *ənni bġāt, ma tsūš.*[41] *36. w dīk ənni məšṛūba tā-ngūnūnu hna ṭḥāt*[42] *šəḥnāt xsīyān,*[43] *fhəmt? 37. əḥna yīwa dukkaṛnāha āš maʿnā? hādīk tāmər. 38. bqātənna waḥda hādīk ənni ma ddəkkaṛātš, ṛāha ma ṭənʿāt, tətsəmma xāṣṛa, ma xaṛžātš ət-tˁamər.*[44] *39. tā-ṭṭənnaʿ wāḥəd ən-ʿaṛžūn tā-ydīr huwwa zrūr zrūr, tā-ngūnūnu hādāk əd-dukkʷāṛ. 40. hādāk əd-dukkʷāṛ tā-nginnʿu mənnu nəmšū ndukkṛu bīh ən-ʿāṛāžīn,*[45] *tā-ykūn n-ʿaṛžūn tā-ydīr əz-zrūra, w tā-təḥzəmha b-wāḥəd zaʿfa. 41. tā-yimši wāḥəd šwiyya šwiyya. 42. kībda*[46] *txanq n-əbnīḥāt. 43. tā-nḥənnūha zād hādāk əz-zaʿf, tā-nḥənnūh. 44. ṛāh tā-yibda yikbər, huwwa. 45. hādāk əḥna tā-ngūnūnu hna ṛāh ən-bənḥ ər-rqēq, tā-yṭīḥ fən-ʾarḍ, tā-ykūn xāṣər ma fīh, ma yitkín, rqīq. 46. tīkbər šwiyy tā-ngūnūnu hādāk n-əbnaḥ. 47. tā-yžī wāḥəd š̄haṛ dārət n-əbnāḥ. 48. īn dārət hād n-əbnā́ḥ, ī w ṛāh kā-ykūn zād fīh n-əḥnāwa. 49. tā-yibdāw yəmšīw ynəqqṭū w bdā yitkín. 50. šwiyya tā-ngūnūnu ṭḥā nəqqāṛ. 51. tā-yəwṣən wāḥəd š̄haṛ, tībda fīha ṭ-ṭyāba bʾadn əḷḷah, fā ngūnu: ḥnū! 52. īna žāwk ḍyāf, īna žāwk šī nās maḥdūdīn w ṭṭərḥūnu, tā-tnaqqēh, ngūnūnu nīmīr wāḥəd. 53. kā-tāknu kā-taʿṭīk ən-nddā́,*[47] *məzyān. 54. yaḷḷa yaḷḷa w hiyya ṭṭīb. 55. w īn hiyya ṭṭīb, īna wṣinha n-əqṭēʿ hiyya nžəmʿāt, īwa kā-nqaṭʿu n-ᵃʿrāžən. 56. fīha ž-žrīd, təqṭaʿənha mənha waḥda b-waḥda, žūžāt əd-dōṛ, w təbqa zād ən-mgəffda. 57. bāš ən-ʿām ənni žā̧ tā-təqṭaʿ hna, təqṭaʿ mən hna ʿawd wuṣlāt hnā, w hiyya ṭānʿa. 58. īna yžīb ənnāh huwwa ygūnūnu dāba*

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[37] Tautologie mit dem Koinè-Wort *dāba* und echt dialektalem *drūk*.
[38] Hocharabisch mit Längung des kurzen /a/.
[39] Wohl nicht aus dem französischen *corbeille* (< spätlateinisch *corbicula*, zu *corbis*) sondern aus einem romanischen **corba* (so im Italienischen und Provenzalischen).
[40] Sic!
[41] Kontraktion aus *ma tsuwwəs-š*.
[42] = *ḍḥāt*.
[43] Berberische Glossierung.
[44] An das Hocharabische angenäherte Form.
[45] An das Hocharabische angenäherte Form.
[46] = *kā-yibda*. Man müsste eine Femininform erwarten.
[47] Hier zeigt sich deutlich, dass ein solcher Dialekt nicht so einfach zu verstehen ist, das ist 'normal-marokkanisch' *(ə)l-lədda* = hocharabisch *al-la<u>dd</u>a*!

huwwa māt, mātī́t.[48] *59. tā-təqṭaʿha hnā bən-gādūm, bən-šāqūṛ, wənna mīšāṛ, w ddīrha grādi grādi,*[49] *w nšənnqūha*[50] *tā-yṭḥā qšəb. 60. w w təbda w kā nsaqqfū́ bîha dāba d-dyōṛ. 61. əḥna, aʿṭīṭˢk hādi n-nāsīfa, nziyynūnu n-əbnān dyānu, bāš nziyynūnu n-əknām. 62. īna ʿawd žīt əhnā məzyān, kīma ʿṭāna n-niyya, naʿṭīwəh ən-niyya, əl-mūfīd, hāda huwwa. 63. əḥna dərna mʿāh əṛfāga naʿṭū nīšān ən-niyya, ən-mūfīd n-mūfīd!*

Übersetzung

1. Wir haben einen Faddān. 2. Das ist ein Faddān und wir wollen Palmen ‘auf ihm’ machen, Palmen. 3. Den Faddān pflügen wir, und wir sagen ‘wir nehmen jene Dattelkerne’, die Dattelkerne. 4. Ihr sät sie im Wald,[51] oder so auf dem Acker. 5. Wir säen sie, dann kommt dir der Traktor oder die Feldhacke, er wird gepflügt. 6. Die Erde wird auf sie geworfen, auf jene Dattelkerne. 7. Wir fangen an ihn zu pflügen, und [die Erde] wird auf sie geworfen, auf sie[52] wird Erde geworfen. 8. Die Dattelkerne werden bedeckt. 9. Dann fangen wir an, ihn zu bewässern, jenen Acker. 10. Wir säen diesen Weizen oder Luzerne, und jene Luzerne spriesst. 11. Wenn ein Jahr herum ist, wenn die Luzerne spriesst, spriesst dann auch dieses Palmzweiglein, die Datteln. 12. Es beginnt zu spriessen. 13. Und dann kommt noch ein weiteres Jahr. 14. Wenn wir ihn beackern, pflügen wir an ihnen vorbei.[53] 15. So bleibt nun dieses Palmzweiglein und wird ein Sprössling, ein Sprössling. 16. Und wir fangen an, ihn mit der Hacke zu bearbeiten, bis du zu [ihm, dem Sprössling] kommst und lässt ihn bleiben. 17. Und wir häufeln auf sie Erde auf. 18. Wenn der Traktor kommt, fährt er an ihm vorbei und lässt ihn.[54] 19. Wenn der Weizen kommt und gepflügt wurde, oder die Luzerne, dann beginnt sie, bewässert zu werden.[55] 20. Im Jahr darauf bildet sie Palmwedel, sie hat vier Palmwedel gebildet. 21. Wenn [wieder] ein Jahr um ist, hat

[48] Die Normalform ist *mātət.*

[49] Plural zu *gərda.*

[50] Wahrscheinlich eine Kreuzung zweier Wurzeln **šqq x flq > šnq.*

[51] Damit meint er den Palmenwald.

[52] Das *ʿnīh* ‘auf ihn’ bezieht sich auf das Kollektiv *ʿənf* ‘Dattelkerne’.

[53] Wörtlich: ‘wir lassen sie beiseite’.

[54] Er meint damit, dass man beim Pflügen darauf achtet, den Sprössling nicht umzufahren.

[55] Wörtlich: ‘begann zu trinken’.

sie zehn gebildet. 22. So, jetzt ist sie gross geworden und wir bringen das Baummesser und lichten sie aus, wir lichten Reihe für Reihe aus.[56] 23. Wenn ein Jahr vorüber ist, lichtest du sie aus, und in dem Jahr, in dem sie 'gebärt', bildet sie den Fruchtstand. 24. Wenn sie klein ist, machen wir ihr eine Stütze. 25. Die zieht den Fruchtstand so hoch! Hast du verstanden? 26. Sie zieht ihn hoch, und siehe da, die Datteln sind angekommen. 27. Jene, die reif sind, da gehen wir her und nehmen sie weg, in ihnen sind Datteln, reife. 28. Und wir pflücken sie, wir pflücken bis zu einem Monat lang. 29. So wie jetzt, bald, es bleibt noch ein Monat bis zum fünfzehnten Oktober,[57] wir sagen 'Oktober'. 30. Der steht bei euch im Kalender,[58] Oktober. 31. Wenn der Oktober kommt, da gehen wir her und schneiden sie ab. 32. Diejenigen, die schön sind, die wollen wir einem Freund schikken oder du bewahrst sie auf. 33. Die binden wir hier mit Stricken zusammen. 34. Und du schneidest den Fruchtstand ab und holst ihn herunter, und wenn der Fruchtstand kommt, dann beginnen wir sie auszulesen, sie werfen sie dorthin, und du gibst sie einem Freund von dir, wenn ein paar Gäste zu dir kommen wollen, dem legst du die schönen hin und liest sie [für ihn] aus. 35. Du musst sie auch von oben, eine nach der anderen, wegnehmen, und du füllst sie in eine Kiste, oder einen grossen Korb, und da bleiben sie, oder einen Henkelkorb, und wir bringen sie in den Kühlschrank, da hält sie so lange sie will, sie verdirbt nicht.[59] 36. Und jene, die schwach ist, zu der sagen wir 'sie wurde [nichts], sie taugt nichts. 37. Ja, und wenn wir sie bestäubt haben, was heisst das? Jene, das sind Datteln geworden. 38. Wenn uns eine bleibt, jene, die nicht bestäubt wurde, die ist nicht hochgekommen, die nennt man 'verloren', die Datteln sind nicht herausgekommen. 39. Wenn sie einen Samenstand hochwachsen lässt, so bildet dieser lauter Rispen, zu jenem sagen wir 'männlicher Samen'. 40. Jenen männlichen Samen, von dem reissen wir etwas ab und bestäuben damit die Fruchtstände, dann bildet der Fruchtstand die Dattelrispe, und du bindest sie mit einem Palmblatt fest.[60] 41. Sachte, sachte, macht das einer. 42. Er [der] Fruchtstand bildet nun die kleinen grünen Datteln. 43. Dann nehmen wir auch

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[56] Die Glossierung bleibt unübersetzt.
[57] Die Aufnahme wurde Mitte September gemacht.
[58] Wörtlich 'Karte'.
[59] D.h. bekommt keine Würmer.
[60] D.h. die Samenripse wird in den Fruchtstand gebunden.

jene Palmblätter weg, wir nehmen sie weg. 44. Sie beginnen nun zu wachsen. 45. Zu jenen sagen wir hier ‘die feinen grünen Datteln. Wenn sie auf die Erde fallen, dann sind sie ‘verloren’, in ihnen ist nichts, sie werden nicht gegessen, [sie sind zu] klein. 46. Wenn sie etwas gewachsen sind, so sagen wir zu jenen ‘grüne Datteln’. 47. Nach einem Monat [nach der Bestäubung] hat sie diese grünen Datteln gemacht. 48. Wenn sie diese grünen Datteln gebildet hat, ja und dann hat in ihnen schon die Süsse zugenommen. 49. Und sie gehen her und pflücken sie, und sie können nun gegessen werden. 50. Nach einer Weile sagen wir zu ihnen, sie wurden zu ‘gelben Dattel’. 51. Wenn noch ein Monat vorüber ist, dann beginnt in ihr das gottgewollte Reifen, und wir sagen: ‘[sie sind] süss!’ 52. Wenn Gäste zu dir kommen, wenn ein paar besondere Leute zu dir kommen, so legst du sie [ihnen] vor, suchst du sie heraus, wir sagen dazu ‘Nummer eins’. 53. Die isst du, die geben dir den guten Geschmack. 54. Los! Los! Und sie werden reif. 55. Wenn es zur Dattelernte kommt und sie eingesammelt werden, ja, da schneiden wir die Fruchtstände ab. 56. In ihnen sind die Palmwedel, die schneidest du ihr einen nach dem anderen ab, die ersten und die zweiten Blätter,[61] es bleiben nur die schön geformten übrig. 57. Damit du im Jahr darauf hier abschneidest, hier abschneidest, und dann ist sie bis hierher gekommen und sie ist hochgewachsen. 58. Wenn er, Gott, es will,[62] so sagen wir jetzt zu ihnen: ‘sie sind gestorben’, ‘sie ist gestorben’. 59. Die fällst du hier mit der Dechsel, mit der Axt oder mit der Säge, und machst aus ihr Holzstücke, und wir spalten sie, damit sie zu Stämmen wird. 60. Und wir decken jetzt damit die Häuser. 61. Wir, ich habe dir diese Erklärung gegeben, wir erklären ihm ihren Plan,[63] damit wir es ihm klarmachen.[64] 62. Weil du hierher auch gekommen bist als guter Kerl, so wie er uns die Wahrheit gesagt hat,[65] so sagen wir ihm die Wahrheit, das Nützliche ganz direkt, so ist das. 63. Wir haben uns mit ihm angefreundet, [deshalb] sagen wir ihm geradewegs die Wahrheit, das Nützliche dem Nützlichen!

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[61] D.h. es werden nicht nur einzelne Palmwedel ausgelichtet, auch die Wedel selbst werden unten von Palmblättern gesäubert. Die parallel wachsenden Blätter am Palmwedel heissen *dōr*. Abgeschnitten wird die unterste Reihe und die zweite Reihe (*žūža*).

[62] Wörtlich ‘bringt’.

[63] Das heisst der Palmen.

[64] Zu den Dabeisitzenden gesagt, wörtlich ‘wir verschönern ihm den Plan’.

[65] D.h. der Verfasser.

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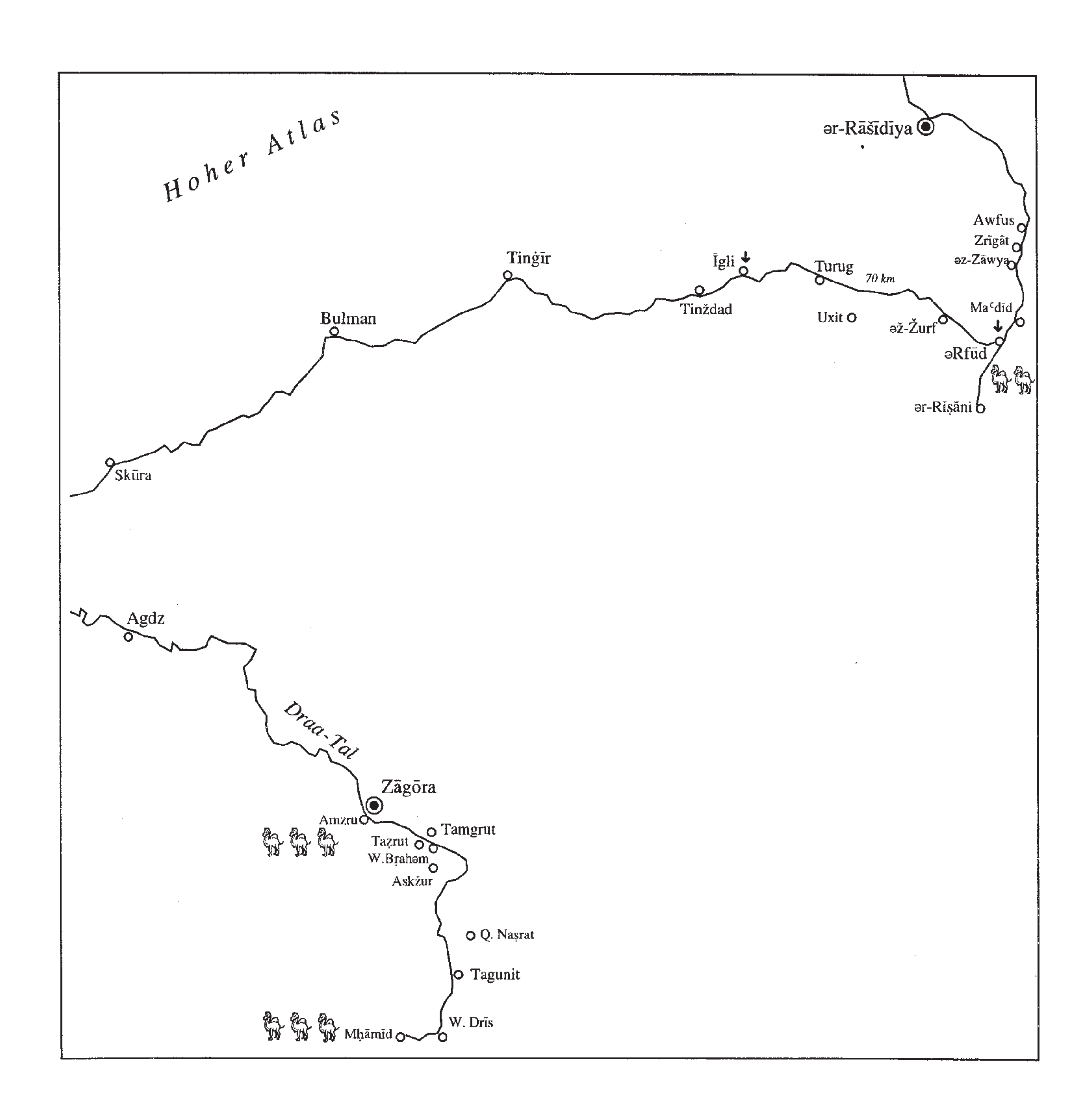
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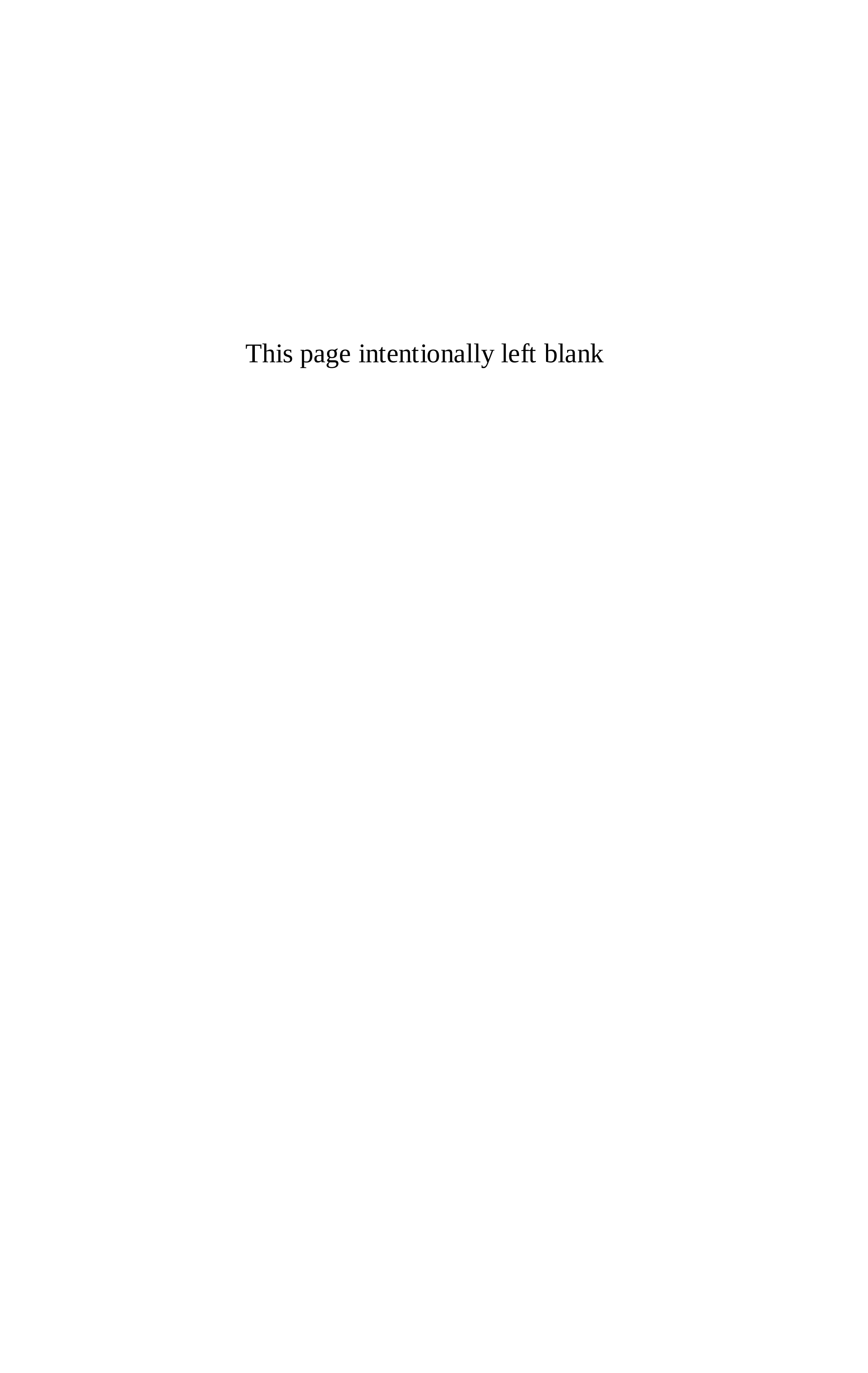
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Hoher Atlas
ər-Rāšīdīya
Awfus
Zrīgāt
əz-Zāwya
Tinġīr
Īgli
Turug
70 km
Bulman
Tinždad
Uxit
Maʿdīd
əž-Žurf
əRfūd
ər-Rīṣāni
Skūra
Agdz
Draa-Tal
Zāgōra
Amzru
Tamgrut
Taẓrut
W. Bṛahəm
Askžur
Q. Naṣrat
Tagunit
W. Drīs
Mḥāmīd



LES PARLERS ARABES NOMADES ET SÉDENTAIRES DU FEZZĀN, D'APRÈS WILLIAM ET PHILIPPE MARÇAIS

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CRÉAM – INALCO, Paris

Après avoir participé à l'édition de l'ouvrage inachevé de Philippe Marçais,[1] publié en l'état par fidélité à son travail, il m'a paru intéressant de pousser un peu plus loin la synthèse et d'essayer de faire *a posteriori* une analyse sociolinguistique et dialectologique de l'état de cette région au milieu du siècle dernier (1943–1957). En effet, j'ai été amenée à rédiger un questionnaire pour la dialectologie arabe du Maghreb (Caubet 2000–2001) et je me propose de l'appliquer à l'analyse des données recueillies par William et Philippe Marçais.[2] Sans prétendre essayer de réaliser cette "étude d'ensemble des parlers du *Fezzân*, qui, je l'espère, verra plus tard le jour",[3] que Ph. Marçais comptait encore réaliser à la fin des années soixante-dix, nous nous essaierons à une synthèse des données recueillies à l'époque.

M'appuyant, outre les données des Marçais et le remarquable travail d'édition de mon collègue Aubert Martin pour ce volume posthume, sur les travaux du Père Lethielleux, il apparaît que les différences dialectales relevées dans le Fezzān sont suffisamment importantes pour étayer les hiérarchies sociales fortement marquées dans les années 40.

A. Martin rappelle que d'une part, "Trois grands groupes de nomades fréquentent la cuvette fezzanaise" (p. XI: *Tūbu*, Touareg

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[1] Marçais (2001). S'il n'avait pas eu le temps d'achever son ouvrage, Philippe Marçais (1977) avait utilisé très largement les matériaux.

[2] En effet, William Marçais (*Fezzân*: VII) fut le premier à enquêter sur les parlers du Fezzān, où il séjourna à l'âge de 72 ans, de février à avril 1944, puis en mars 1945. Son fils, Philippe s'y rendit en février 1949 et en mars 1950. William, au terme d'une carrière commencée au 19ème siècle et toute entière dédiée à la dialectologie du Maghreb, écrivait à son épouse le 20 février 1944: "Philippe apprendra que tout ici m'est nouveau ou, du moins, beaucoup de choses et que six semaines ne me permettront que quelques coups de sonde" (voir Junqua & Kerouani 2001:22). Ceci montre en effet, l'originalité du Fezzān au sein des parlers maghrébins.

[3] Philippe Marçais cité par Aubert Martin dans l'introduction de *Fezzân* (XIII) 'Poésies Fezzanaises' dans *Mélanges en Hommage à Youri Zawadowski* (sans doute inédit).

et tribus qui se disent arabes, dont certaines portent des noms berbères—*Zintān* et *Urfella*—et d'autres descendent des *Banū Hilāl* et des *Banū Sulaym* (*Oulad Slimān, Ḥoṭmān, Ḥasaouna, Gwāyda* et *Megārḥa*). "Ces tribus 'arabes' occupent le nord-ouest du Fezzan (. . .) certains de ces nomades, devenus propriétaires de palmiers et de jardins, voire de maisons, où ils séjournent quelques mois de l'année, sont partiellement sédentarisés" (op. cit., p. XI). Parmi les tribus auprès desquelles ont été recueillis des textes, on notera (op. cit., p. XII) les *Ḥoṭmān* et les *Gwāyda*, anciens nomades des plateaux situés au nord du Fezzān; les *Megārḥa*, tribu plus nettement nomade, qui se partagent entre la culture de l'orge dans les villages du *Shatiʾ* (*Brak, Agar*) où ils ont des maisons, et les pâturages des troupeaux.

"Ces nomades et semi-nomades, conscients et fiers de leur appartenance (. . .) se refusent à être confondus avec ceux que l'on appelle et qui se disent Fezzanais (*Fazāzna*). Ceux-ci sont des sédentaires". On voit donc la différence sociale marquée entre les sédentaires et les nomades, qu'ils soient ou non sédentarisés en partie.

Un autre groupe est tenu en basse estime: il s'agit des *Dawwāda* qui habitent l'*Edeyen* d'*Ubari*, et qui, selon l'ouvrage récent de J. Thiry (1995)[4] vivent dans des huttes de roseau autour de trois lacs:

> (. . .) *Dawwāda*, population noire (bronze rouge, d'après M.E. Leblanc), à l'origine inconnue, qui se dit issue des *Maqāriḥa*, qui sont des *Sulaym*; les Arabes leur assignent une ascendance juive, prétendant que leur ancêtre ne serait autre que David/*Dāwūd*. Les *Dawwāda* sont un groupe qui mène une vie misérable, habitant des huttes de roseaux et de fibres de palmiers autour de trois lacs perdus au milieu de l'*Edeyen* d'*ūbārī: Qabr ʿAwn, Aṭrūn*, et *Mandara*. Ils se nourrissent de *dūd*, un minuscule crustacé rougeâtre (*artemia salina*), que leurs femmes pêchent dans les eaux saumâtres, laissent sécher et transforment en galettes. L'étymologie *Dawwāda* < *dūd* est manifestement populaire, autant que méprisante à l'égard de cette population originale, qui ne compte tout au plus que 500 individus et qui fait l'objet d'une ségrégation sévère de la part de tous les autres Fezzanais. Ces *Dawwāda* seraient-ils les anciens habitants du *Fezzân*, réfugiés dans les sables à la suite des migrations berbères? Cf. supra pp. 349–350; F.C. Thomas, *The Dawwadah of the Fezzan*; Dr. M.E. Leblanc, *Anthropologie et ethnologie*, pp. 36–37. En 1990, pour des raisons sanitaires, le gouvernement libyen a décidé de transporter les *Dawwāda* au *Wādi lʾādjāl* où un village a été construit à leur intention.

[4] Voir Thiry (1995:383, n. 569). Voir également, sur la façon dont les nomades considèrent les Fezzanais, la note, Marçais (2001:77).

Le travail du dialectologue est donc important pour analyser les traits particuliers qui permettent de repérer chacun de ces groupes sociaux. On ne pourra le faire ici que partiellement lorsque l'origine des textes est donnée ou peut être reconstituée. Ainsi pour les textes en prose, les textes 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 sont clairement indiqués comme relevés chez des nomades *Gwāyda*; le 11, chez les *Megārḥa*, le 8 comprend six textes nomades, dont deux sont situés (*Gwāyda* et *Megārḥa*); le 15 est identifiable comme nomade par nous (grâce à la présence des interdentales en particulier (voir 1.1.6.)). Pour ce qui est des sédentaires, seuls le 1 et le 2 sont notés comme provenant de *Gorda* (*Sebha*); les textes 3, 10, 12, 13 et 14 ne portent pas de mention d'origine mais sont identifiables grâce à l'absence d'interdentales. Pour ce qui est des textes poétiques, les origines sont indiquées: les poésies amoureuses, recueillies à *Brak* ou *Agar* dans le *Shatiʾ*, sont oeuvres de sédentaires; les chants sont plutôt nomades et seul un petit texte (sept vers) est attribué aux *Duwwada* (98).

Malgré la variation dialectale, on rappellera cependant que William Marçais avait pu en son temps dégager une impression générale des parlers fezzanais, réunissant nomades et sédentaires; elle est donnée dans le compte-rendu de ses missions au Fezzān en 1944 et 1945 (voir W. Marçais 1945):

> (. . .) Relevant d'un même type général, ces idiomes présentent dans le détail des différences plus ou moins considérables. Tout d'abord, au Fezzân comme ailleurs dans le monde arabe, parlers nomades et parlers sédentaires s'opposent par la phonétique et souvent aussi par la grammaire. Mais les parlers sédentaires eux-mêmes sont loin de s'accorder entièrement entre eux. On pourrait en gros représenter l'ensemble de l'arabe fezzânais par une chaîne aux deux bouts de laquelle se situent les parlers des nomades de Megârha d'une part, celui des sédentaires d'El Jedid, de l'autre, et où, d'anneau en anneau se marque la transition graduelle de l'un à l'autre type extrêmes. (. . .) Mais déjà le type maghrébin prend chez eux une teinte orientale. (. . .) Le fezzânais s'oppose nettement par là à d'autres variétés de l'arabe maghrébin: aux idiomes citadins de la Tunisie, de l'Algérie et du Maroc d'abord, à ceux des petits transhumants de la Tunisie centrale et occidentale et du Tell algérien ensuite, enfin à ceux des grands chameliers du Sahara algérien, des arabophones du Sud marocain et de la Mauritanie. Par contre, le type fezzânais se retrouve chez les Merazîg de Douz chez les Troûd de l'Oued Souf (. . .) Il serait tentant d'appliquer à ce type de parlers arabes l'épithète de 'solaymites'.

S'il s'agit de parlers solaymites, on ne sera pas surpris qu'ils marquent l'opposition de genre au pluriel dans les verbes et les pronoms;

mais que cela soit le fait des parlers sédentaires (*wắṭ*^{a}*ni*) et nomades (*bắdwi*) est plus remarquable. Pour W. Marçais, les parlers sédentaires les plus emblématiques sont ceux des sédentaires de *Jedid* (*Sebha*); pour les nomades, ce sont les *Megârḥa* rencontrés plus au nord dans le *Shatiʾ*. Tous réalisent le *qāf* en [g] ou [g^{y}], mais nomades et sédentaires se différencieront par contre presque toujours (il y a des exceptions), par la présence ou l'absence d'interdentales, l'accent, la structure syllabique, la nature des voyelles brèves.

Je parcourrai les grandes rubriques du questionnaire (Caubet 2001–2002) pour essayer de dresser un portrait dialectologique du Fezzān des années 1940–50. Les rubriques non documentées seront supprimées.

1. *Phonétique*

Ce point n'avait pas été abordé par Ph. Marçais dans son étude; on s'attachera donc à reconstituer, d'après les textes, les paradigmes et les remarques faites dans l'ouvrage.

1.1 *Consonnes*

1.1.1 *Réalisation du* qāf

Sédentaires et nomades réalisent le *qāf* en [g]; sédentaires (*Gorda*) (4) *gā́dĕr, tădgī́g*, (12) *yŭ́rgŭd*, (58) *gōṛā́n*; bédouins (20) *dŭ́gg, măgṭū́ʿ*, [g^{y}] une affrication apparaît dans certains mots, chez les nomades, (34) *ḥĕ́gg*^{y}*ä* ou les sédentaires, (15) *ilåṣṣg*^{y}*ûha*. Ce n'est pas un phénomène très courant; il en existe en tout une dizaine d'exemples dont six dans les paradigmes de conjugaisons (114–121–122–147–179–184).

La réalisation [q] n'apparaît que dans trois ou quatre mots: dans la racine *qrb* pour désigner les proches de la famille: *aqāréb-hum, qarīb əṛ-ṛājəl; faqí* et *qắb*^{a}*ṛ-ĕn-nəbí*.

1.1.2 *Réalisation du* ġayn

Contrairement à ce qui se passe en Mauritanie et dans des parlers du Sahara, le *ġ* est réalisé [ġ]: *ġâdi, ġāfəl, ġănắm, ġåṛb* etc.

1.1.3 *Réalisation du* kāf

Le *kāf* est réalisé [k] dans la plupart des cas: *kā́in, kā́s, kĕ́təf, kəbī́r, kŭll*.

On note cependant une affrication en [k̲] ou [k^y]: *k^yān, k̲ĕdmăt, ibărrək̲u.*

Elle a un rôle morphologique pour marquer l'opposition de genre dans les pronoms affixes de 2ème pers. sg.: masc. k: fém. *k^y* (mouillé) ou *k̲* (affriqué/spirante); ex. *nāṛā́-k* 'je te vois [homme]': *nāṛā́-k^y* 'je te vois [femme]' (64), *ṛḗtĕ́k̲* (68).

1.1.4 *Réalisation du* tāʾ

Le *tāʾ* est réalisé occlusif, sans affrication: *tăḥt, tedwī́, tkûn.*

1.1.5 *Réalisation du* ğīm

Le *ğīm* est une spirante chuintante sonore (noté d'abord *ž*, puis *j* dans les textes revus): *əṛ-ṛā́jəl, jắn, jəld, jīb.*

1.1.6 *Interdentales*

C'est l'un des cas de divergence entre parlers sédentaires et nomades; les textes sédentaires ne connaissent pas d'interdentales. Chez les sédentaires (textes 1, 2, 3, 10, 12, 13, 14 etc.), on a les deux dentales *t/d*, pas d'interdentales et une emphatique unique, *ḍ: fī-hā-l-ḥā́la hā́di, ida-kân, tā́lət-mắṛṛa, mʿā-báʿḍhum, lə-mṛåḍ, iḍắllĕl.* On note cependant que les *Duwwāda* (98), sédentaires particuliers, réalisent une interdentale: *nāẖĕd̲-ha*, mais le texte est trop court pour en tirer des conclusions définitives.

Par contre, chez les bédouins (textes 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15 etc.), on note une présence d'interdentales, avec une oppostion *t/t̲* et *d/d̲*, et une emphatique unique *ḏ̣*:

t̲: *t̲ḗni, t̲lā́t̲a, t̲ə́ləb*
d̲: *īd̲a, tā́ẖĕd̲, yăd̲baẖo*
ḏ̣: *ĕl-bḗḏ̣, iḏ̣ḗll, ḏ̣eṛḗfa, tṓmẖŏḏ̣*

1.1.7 *Réalisation du* rāʾ

Le *rāʾ* est roulé, et on a une opposition *r/ṛ* (*dā́r : dā́ṛ*); j'ai relevé les séries suivantes:

r: *twarriha, sā́rĕḥ, sĕrwā́l, rắmla, rk̲ī́za*
ṛ: *ṭåṛf, ṭeṛī́g, ṛā́s, ṛā́jəl.*

1.1.8 *Sifflantes et chuintantes*

Y a-t-il des combinaisons ou des suites interdites au sein d'un mot? En général, la sifflante assimile la chuintante: Sédentaires: (56) *znā́za,*

(14) *ez-zŏz*, (163) *ʿazûz*, (46) *ʿazâiz*. On a parfois maintien de deux chuintantes dans: (16) *eš-šᵉžā̊ṛ, eš-šᵉžfr* 'plante', (6) *šušā̊na*, mais *Duwwada* (98) *zī̊zăt* 'mariage'. Mais (origine non citée), maintien de la chuintante: (161) *zuwā̊j*, (48) *dijâza*. Par ailleurs chez les *Megārḥa* (nomades), on note (154) que *st* > *št* dans *štā̆nja* ou *štâḥaš*.

1.1.9 *Y a-t-il des phonèmes consonantiques nouveaux?*

On trouve *ṛ* et *r, z* et *ẓ*, les paires minimales sont peu nombreuses: *dā̊r : dā̊ṛ*.

Pour le *ṛ*, voir plus haut; pour le *ẓ*, on a: (16) *ẓŏmmîṭa*, (14) *ẓŏ̊ṛᵉṣ*. Bien sûr, en contexte emphatique, il peut s'agir d'une réalisation conditionnée.

1.1.10 *Y a-t-il assimilation de l'article avec des lettres autres que les consonnes solaires?*

Rarement, mais on trouve, cependant, chez les sédentaires: (15) *b-emmä* apparaît une seule fois, et (28) (nomades) *ĕl-mä* (très nombreux); bédouins: (38) *b-ŭk-kŭ̊ll*, mais aussi (32) *bə-l-kŭ̊ll*, (49) *əj-jā̆dd*.

1.2 *Voyelles*

1.2.1 *Voyelles longues*

1.2.1.1 Combien y a-t-il de phonèmes longs?

Il y a trois phonèmes longs: *ā, ū, ī*, avec de nombreuses réalisations selon les contextes consonantiques: *ṛbīʿ, moṛîḏ̣, dmūʿ, nūṛ, zwāz, ṣå̄lāt*. *ī* marque parfois la réduction totale d'une diphtongue: *kīf, līl*.

1.2.1.2 Y a-t-il d'autres phonèmes longs?

Il y a *ō, ē* qui correspondent à des diphtongues, mais ils apparaissent aussi comme réalisations de *ū* et *ī* en contexte emphatiques: Anciennes diphtongues: *lēl, zēt, yōm, sōdä*. Contexte emphatique: *ṭṛōf, ṭnē̆n*. Voir ci-dessous.

1.2.1.3 Y a-t-il des diphtongues?

Oui, mais on a "hésitation entre conservation diphtonique *ŏw, ĕy* et réduction totale *ō, ē*; les milieux féminins optant souvent pour la première solution. Mais là encore, l'environnement consonantique peut jouer son rôle, favorisant l'état diphtonique: *ṣŏwm* 'jeûne' (plutôt que

ṣōm), *ṣĕyf* 'été' (plutôt que *ṣēf*)" (*Esquisse* 17). On trouve de nombreuses diphtongues morphologiques dans les paradigmes des verbes défectueux (voir plus bas 3.1.5.6.): *bekáw* etc. De plus, la marque du féminin et du pluriel dans la conjugaison préfixale est réalisée diphtonguée (voir 3.1.1.2): *tă̆d̠băḥ-ăy, tă̆d̠baḥ-ăw*, au lieu de *-ī* et *-ū*.

1.2.2 *ʾimāla*

1.2.2.1 Y a-t-il *ʾimāla* en fin de mot? Au sein du mot?

La *ʾimāla* finale est considérée par W. Marçais (1950:214) comme caractéristique des parlers *sulaym*, mais elle n'est pas systématique, ni toujours du deuxième degré (noté *ä* ou *e* par Ph. Marçais). En fin de mot: *ḫŏṭṭḗfä, sṓdä, nédä, də̆bšä, əl-mé, ā́ne*, mais: *fê-ha, ʿlē-ha, ḥâmya, wuḥda, nā̆zla, šwêiya*; au sein du mot: *ġänā̆m, dämm, getäl, zemän.*

Les parlers de *Sebha* (nomades et sédentaires, voir 3.1.4) connaissent une *ʾimāla* finale dans les verbes défectueux ne comportant pas de consonnes postérieures: *bkä, bdä.*

1.2.3 *Voyelles brèves*

1.2.3.1 Combien y a-t-il de phonèmes brefs?

Ph. Marçais n'a pas fait de phonologie, puisqu'il n'a même pas traité de phonétique. On remarque la très grande abondance de réalisations vocaliques (21 timbres combinées à la longueur et l'accent, 128 signes), la présence de nombreux 'schwa' et la particularité de ce parler qui compte de nombreuses voyelles brèves en syllabe ouverte.

Il est presque impossible de reconstituer des paires minimales *a posteriori*, mais l'on peut noter, essentiellement dans l'index, des tendances. S'agissant d'un parler bédouin, on commencera par faire l'hypothèse qu'il a encore trois phonèmes brefs (/ă/, /ŭ/, /ĭ/), avec de nombreuses réalisations conditionnées; mais l'on compte de nombreuses occurrences de 'schwa'. Quel est son statut? Il faudra aussi tenir compte de la variation dialectale entre nomades et sédentaires.

Dans les paradigmes d'adjectifs de couleur (183 et 3.3.4.2.), on note une opposition *ă : ŭ*, pour la formation des pluriels dans tous les contextes consonantiques, mais il ne s'agit pas de véritables paires minimales, d'autant que s'y ajoute un déplacement de l'accent: *ắkḥăl, kḥŭ́l, ắzrăq, zrŭ́q, ắḥmăr, ḥmŏ́ṛ, ắʿwăr, ʿwŏ́ṛ*, etc.

Duwwāda (98), il semble qu'il n'y ait pas d'opposition *u : a* en syllabe ouverte: 'le sud': *gubā̆li, gabā̆li*; pas d'opposition avec le 'schwa',

non plus: *nāẖĕ́ḏ-ha* et *tā́ẖuḏ*, dans un texte nomade (22). On trouve également *tâẖĕd* chez des sédentaires (46). S'agit-il d'une variation dialectale?

Ph. Marçais a fait quelques remarques qui peuvent nous aider: Il semble que [e] et [u] soient des réalisations conditionnées d'un même phonème (116, [u] apparaissant au contact d'emphatiques, vélaires et labiales).

A cela s'ajoute la question de l'harmonisation vocalique; en effet, il note également (118), que lorsqu'on n'a pas C_2 faucale, ou C_3 faucale ou sonante (voir 2.1), [a] passe à [e] ou [ö], voyelle qu'il dit "commandée par l'ambiance consonantique" (120); il remarque que "la voyelle du radical commande la voyelle du préfixe (harmonie vocalique)", mais que "la voyelle du préfixe n'est pure que là où la première radicale est propre à lui conserver la caractère d'arrière palatale", vélaire, emphatique ou labiale. Il note qu'"il est quelques verbes où le préfixe est vocalisé en *i* bien que le radical soit en *u*" et "qu'il est quelques verbes où le préfixe est vocalisé en *u* bien que le radical soit affecté d'une autre voyelle".

En conclusion, on notera qu'il semble bien exister une opposition /a/ : /u/, que celle entre /u/ et /i/ est moins nette, pouvant être fonction de l'environnement consonantique (*u* aurait besoin du contexte vélaire, emphatique ou labiale pour se maintenir, sinon, il passe à *i*). Ainsi l'opposition serait du type /ă/ : /ə/ (*ŭ* et *ĭ* confondus), parler nomade selon la classification établie par David Cohen (1970b:178).

1.3 *Vélarisation*

1.3.1 *Y a-t-il arrondissement en contexte vélaire?*

Non, pas en général, mais on trouve chez les sédentaires de *Gorda* (6) *ṣ*^{u}*ġā̊ṛ*.

1.3.2 *Les séquences*

*m + w + v *produisent-elles un arrondissement assorti d'une gémination de la consonne?*

Oui, voir (12) *fī-l-*^{um}*m*^{w}*ḗyya*, (32) ^{m}*mwāli*, (52) *fī-*^{m}*mwēʿīn*. Chez les nomades de *Brâk*, on trouve le pronom de 3ème pers. pl. *hŭ́ṃṃ*^{w}*a*.

2. *Structure syllabique*

Ph. Marçais (*Esquisse* 32) note la spécificité de certains parlers bédouins au sein des parlers du Maghreb; en effet, ces parlers, et ceux du Fezzān en sont une illustration, ont conservé nombre de voyelles brèves en syllabe ouverte.

2.1 *Quel est le schème des verbes réguliers à la 3ème pers. masc. de la conjugaison suffixale? Quand on ajoute un suffixe à initiale vocalique à un schème régulier que se produit-il?*

Ph. Marçais distingue quatre catégories de verbes pour les parlers sédentaires de *Brak* et *Agar (Shati')*, selon la nature des consonnes du radical.

Catég. 1: C_2 est une des faucales: *ḥ, ḫ, ʿ, ġ, h,* ou C_3 est: *ḥ, ḫ, ʿ, ġ, h,* ou une sonante *n, l, r.* On a *$C_1vC_2\check{a}C_3$: negắl, zaṛắʿ, dəbắġ, fətắḥ, sobắġ,* mais $C_1C_2\check{a}C_3$ (sans voyelle brève entre C_1 et C_2) + suffixe vocalique: *ngálăw, zṛáʿaw, dboġăw, ftáḥăt, sboġån.* Il distingue ces parlers sédentaires du *Shati'* de ceux de *Sebha* (*Jedid, Gorda*), qu'il rapproche de la ville de Tripoli (voir Pereira 2001), où l'accent est sur la première voyelle qui se maintient: *ḥẽ́kmăw, hṓṛbăn, kẽ́ḏbăw.*

Catég. 2: C_2 n'est ni faucale ni emphatique et C_3 n'est ni faucale ni emphatique ni sonante. On a *$C_1vC_2\check{a}C_3$: rekắz, ḥalắb*, et $C_1C_2eC_3$ (sans voyelle brève entre C_1 et C_2) + suff. voc.: *rkézăt, ḥlébắw.*

Catég. 3: C_2 et C_3 sont des emphatiques, labiales ou *g* ou *k*: On a *$C_1vC_2\check{a}C_3$: ġåṛắs, ḥakṓm, sebṓg,* et $C_1C_2uC_3$ (sans voyelle brève entre C_1 et C_2) + suff. voc.: *ġṛṓsăw, ḥkúmăw, sbŏgăw.*

Catég. 4: alternance de schème. On a *$C_1C_2vC_3$: slẽ́m, ḫmẽ́r, ʿlẽ́m,* et *$C_1vC_2C_3$* + suffixe vocalique: *sẽ́lmăt, ḫómrăn, ʿẽ́lmăt* (Le timbre de la voyelle accentuée varie selon le contexte consonantique). Ph. Marçais fait remarquer que les verbes de la 4ème catégorie sont à rapprocher des verbes en *făʿĭla/făʿŭla* de l'arabe classique (*Fezzân* 115).

Lors de l'ajout d'un suffixe vocalique, on a chute de la première voyelle brève en syllabe ouverte, qui se place entre C_2 et C_3, et ce, dans les parlers nomades et sédentaires (*ḥkúm-ăw*), à l'exception des parlers sédentaires de *Sebha*, où l'accent est sur la première voyelle: *ḥẽ́km-ăw.*

2.2 *Et pour les nominaux (schème régulier)?*

Ph. Marçais n'a pas traité des schèmes réguliers pour la morphologie nominale (*Fezzân* 158), ni des concaves; le chapitre commence

avec les schèmes défectueux. Cependant, on peut trouver des mots dans les textes, comme:

- Masculins: $C_1vC_2vC_3$ ou $C_1vC_2C_3$
  Nomades: (42) *ḥŭ́kŏm*, (20) *ġanắm*, (92) *balắh*, (26) *b(ə)găṛ*, (96) *ġắṛb*, (38) *jəmắl* et *jmắl*. On remarque que l'accent porte soit sur la 1ère, soit sur la 2ème voyelle; lorsqu'il y a chute de la 2ème, c'est que l'accent portait sur la 1ère; inversement, c'est la 1ère qui est susceptible de chuter lorsque l'accent est sur la 2ème. Sédentaires: (6) *ḥŭ́kŏm*, (54) *gĕ́dᵉr*,
- Féminins à suffixe *-a(t)*: $C_1vC_2C_3$*-a*, avec chute de la voyelle brève entre C_2 et C_3: Nomades: (20) *gĕ́dra*, *dəbšä*, Sédentaires: (6) *ẖŭ́bza*, (16) *gĕ́dra*, (12) *gŏ́tna*, (10) *bắlġa*.

Je n'ai trouvé, ni dans les textes, ni dans l'index réalisé par L. Denooz (*Fezzân* 187–265), de formes signalées comme 'libyennes' dans *Esquisse* (95), comme *ḥələma* ou *săʿăfa* (on trouve au contraire *sắʿfa*, 52).

2.3 *Dans les mots formés de plus de trois consonnes, que se passe-t-il lors de l'ajout d'un suffixe à initiale vocalique?*

L'accent joue un rôle déterminant dans ces phénomènes.

Verbes:

Vème forme: *nĕtaʿắllăm* > *nĕtaʿắlləm-u; taʿắllăm* > *taʿắlləmi/u*

VIIème forme: *ĕngúbŏḏ* > *ĕngubúḏŏt*, avec déplacement de l'accent. Chez les *Megārḥa*, on trouve également *nŏġbắn, nŏġbánăt*, au lieu de *ĕngå bán, ĕngobánăt* chez les sédentaires.

VIIIème forme: *ĕ́ntegăl* > *ĕ́ntegálăt*, qui peut s'amuir (avec déplacement d'accent) en *ĕntĕ́glăt* chez les sédentaires (*Fezzân* 145).

Autres personnes, formes régulières: *yắġlŏḏ + u > yắġloḏăw; tĭ́skŭ t + i > tĭ́sᵘkti*.

En finale, on trouve généralement une diphtongue, *-ăw* ou *-ăy* (*Fezzân* 109–123), au lieu de *-u* et *-i: tắlḥăs + i > tắlḥasăy*.

Substantifs: lors de l'ajout d'un pronom suffixe de 3ème pers. masc. *-a*, ou d'un suffixe de pluriel *-īn: rŭ́kᵘb-a(t) + -a > rŭ́kubt-a; mgăʿmez + īn > mgăʿmezīn / mgăʿmᵉzīn*.

2.4 *Enfin, que se passe-t-il lorsqu'on ajoute un suffixe à initiale vocalique à la 3ème pers. fém. sg. de la conjugaison suffixale?*

Ph. Marçais dit simplement que: "Elle est *-āt* lorsque la forme verbale est pourvue du suffixe pronominal *-a* de 3ème personne du masculin singulier" (*Fezzân* 109).

3. *Morphologie*

3.1 *Verbes*

3.1.1 *Conjugaison préfixale*

3.1.1.1 Quelles sont les 1ères pers. sg. et pl.?
Il y a un préfixe *n*-, au singulier comme au pluriel: sg. *nǟḏbăḥ*; pl. *nǟḏbaḥăw*, comme pour les parlers de type maghrébin.

3.1.1.2 Y a-t-il confusion des genres à la 2ème pers. sg.?
Non, il y a distinction: 2ème masc. *tǟḏbăḥ*; 2ème fém. *tǟḏbăḥăy*.

3.1.1.3 Y a-t-il confusion des genres à la 2ème pers. pl.?
Non, il s'agit d'un des parlers où, pour les sédentaires comme pour les nomades, on a distinction de genre au pluriel, à la 2ème et 3ème personne, pour les conjugaisons et pour les pronoms affixes et indépendants:

2. pl. masc: *tǟḏbaḥăw*	2. pl. fém.: *tǟḏbaḥăn*,
3. pl. masc: *yǟḏbaḥăw*	3. pl. fém.: *yǟḏbaḥăn*.

3.1.1.2 Y a-t-il une conjugaison préverbée en plus de la forme simple? Quel est ce préverbe?
Oui, il existe un préverbe *b*-, chez les nomades et les sédentaires: (100) *b-ejjī́-kum*, (14 *b-elgú*, (40) *b-ibḗʿ*, (36) *b-iḥī́j*, (50) *b-iššā́wṛo*, (40) *īdā b-yŭgətlṓ-h* etc. Sa valeur serait à étudier en détail; il semble marquer un futur, un conditionnel et parfois un habituel (une étude spécifique serait nécessaire).

3.1.2 *Impératif*

Le chapitre, prévu, n'a pas été traité (*Fezzân* 124); mais on peut retrouver les formes dans le chapitre sur la morphologie verbale. Nous donnerons les formes trouvées:

> sourds: *šḗdd, šḗddi, šḗddu*; assimilés: *ū́gŭf, ū́gfi, ū́gfu*; concaves: *lū́m, lū́mi, lū́mău*; défectueux: *ḗbkʸi, ḗbkʸi, ḗbkʸu*—*ā́nsä, ā́nsăy, ā́nsăw*,
> IIème forme: *ʿā́lləm, ʿā́llmi, ʿā́llmu*; Vème forme: *taʿā́lläm, taʿā́lləmi, taʿā́lləmu*; Xème forme: *(ĕ)stā́ḫbăṛ, (e)stā́ḫbåṛi, (e)stā́ḫbåṛu.*

On note la nécessité d'une voyelle d'appui pour les formes verbales commençant par deux consonnes (verbes défectueux, Xème forme;

ainsi que la possibilité d'avoir des séquences de trois consonnes, s'il y a une géminée (*ʿắllmu*).

3.1.3 *Conjugaison suffixale*

Quelle est la 2ème personne, sing. et pl.?

Il y a distinction de genre, au singulier et au pluriel:

2. sg. m. *getắlᵉt, šăddḗt, wugǒ́fᵉt, bĕ́nt, bekḗt, ʿăllắmt, ĕngetắlt, ĕẖtoṣǒ́mt, stăẖbắṛt,*
2. sg. f. *getắlti, šăddḗti, wugǒ́fti, bĕ́nti, bekḗti, ʿăllắmti, ĕngetắlti, ĕẖtoṣǒ́mti, stăẖbắṛti,*
2. pl. m. *getắltu, šăddḗtu, wugǒ́ftu, bĕ́ntu, bekḗtu, ʿăllắmtu, ĕngetắltu, ĕẖtoṣǒ́mtu stăẖbắṛtu,*
2. pl. f. *getắltĕn, šăddḗtĕn, wugǒ́ftĕn, bĕ́nten, bekḗtĕn, ʿăllắmtĕn, ĕngetắltĕn, ĕẖ-toṣǒ́mtĕn, stăẖbắṛtĕn.*

3.1.4 *Verbes défectueux (Fezzân* 131–133*)*

3.1.4.1 Quelle est la 3ème personne du pluriel de la conjugaison préfixale et suffixale?

Il y a trois catégories de verbes:

1 C_1vC_2a—yvC_1C_2i 2 C_1vC_2a—yvC_1C_2a 3 C_1C_2i—yvC_1C_2a.

Les parlers (sédentaires et nomades) de la région de Sebha ont une comportement particulier.

Fezzān	Conjugaison suffixale		Conjugaison préfixale:	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
Catég. 1: Catég. 2: Catég. 3:	*bekáw* *bedáw* *nĕ́syăw*	*bekán* *bedắn* *nĕ́syăn*	*y-ĭ́bkʸu* *yắbdăw* *yắnsăw*	*y-ĭ́bkʸĕn* *yắbdăn* *yắnsăn*

Les *parlers de Sebha* connaissent (voir 3.1.4.6.6 pour les paradigmes complets): une chute de la 1ère voyelle brève: *meša* > *mšá*—*gaṛá* > *gṛá*, *ʾimāla* dans les verbes ne comportant pas de consonnes postérieures: *bkä, bdä;* les finales *-ăw* et *-ăy* (voir 3.1.5.6.) sont articulées en *ō* et *ē: mšó, bdó, tắbde, tắnse.*

3.1.4.2 Quelle est la 3ème personne du féminin de la conjugaison suffixale?

Catég. 1: *bekắt* Catég. 2: *bedắt* Catég. 3: *nĕ́syăt*

3.1.4.3 Quelle est la 2ème personne du pluriel de la conjugaison suffixale?

	m.	f.
Catég. 1:	*bĕkḗtu*	*bĕkḗtĕn*
Catég. 2:	*bedḗtu*	*bedḗtĕn*
Catég. 3:	*nsī́tu*	*nsī́tĕn*

3.1.5 *Donnez les paradigmes des conjugaisons suffixale et préfixale pour les différents types de verbes.*

3.1.5.1 Verbes réguliers: conjugaison préfixale

Catég. 1.a: *ḏəbắḥ—yắḏbăḥ*
nắḏbăḥ, tắḏbăḥ, tắḏbăḥăy, yắḏbăḥ, tắḏbăḥ
nắḏbaḥăw, tắḏbaḥăw, tắḏbaḥăn, yắḏbaḥăw, yắḏbaḥăn

Catég. 1.b: *šaṛắf—yắšṛăf*
näšṛåf, täšṛåf, tášŏṛfăy/tắšṛofăy, yắšṛåf, tắšṛåf,
näšŏṛfăw/nášṛofăw, täšŏṛfăw/tášṛofăw, täšŏṛfăn/tášṛofăn, yäšŏṛfăw/yášṛofăw, yäšŏṛfăn /yášṛofăn

Catég. 2: *ẖåṭṓb—yṓẖṭub*
nṓẖṭub, tṓẖṭub, tṓẖŏṭbi, yṓẖṭub, tṓẖṭub
nṓẖŏṭbu, tṓẖŏṭbu, tṓẖŏṭbĕn, yṓẖŏṭbu, yṓẖŏṭbĕn

Catég. 3: *känắs—yĭ́knĕs*
nĭ́knĕs, tĭ́knĕs, tĭ́kŭnsi, yĭ́knĕs, tĭ́knĕs
nĭ́kŭnsu, tĭ́kŭnsu, tĭ́kŭnsĕn, yĭ́kŭnsu, yĭ́kŭnsĕn

3.1.5.2 Verbes réguliers: conjugaison suffixale

Catég. 1: *getắl*
getắlᵉt, getắlᵉt, getắlti, getắl, gtắlăt
getắlna, getắltu, getắltĕn, gtálăw, gtálăn

Catég. 2: *ḥajắm*
ḥajắmᵉt, ḥajắmᵉt, ḥajắmti, ḥajắm, ḥjémăt
ḥajắmna, ḥajắmtu, ḥajắmtĕn, ḥjémăw, ḥjémăn

Catég. 3: *kaṛắm*
kaṛắmᵉt, kaṛắmᵉt, kaṛắmti, kaṛắm, kṛómăt
kaṛắmna, kaṛắmtu, kaṛắmtĕn, kṛómăw, kṛómăn

Catég. 4: *rjĕ́ḥ*
rjĕ́ḥᵉt, rjĕ́ḥᵉt, rjĕ́ḥti, rjĕ́ḥ, rĕ́jḥăt
rjĕ́ḥna, rjĕ́ḥtu, rjĕ́ḥtĕn, rĕ́jḥăw, rĕ́jḥăn

3.1.5.3 Racines sourdes: paradigmes

conj. préfix.: *nšĕ́dd, tšĕ́dd, tšĕ́ddi, išĕ́dd, tšĕ́dd*
nšĕ́ddu, tšĕ́ddu, tšĕ́ddĕn, išĕ́ddu, išĕ́ddĕn

conj. suff.: *šăddḗt, šăddḗt, šăddḗti, šắdd, šắddăt*
šăddḗna, šăddḗtu, šăddḗtĕn, šắddăw, šắddăn

3.1.5.4 Racines assimilées: paradigmes

conj. préfix.: *nū́gŭf, tū́gŭf, tū́gfi, yū́gŭf, tū́gŭf*
nū́gfu, tū́gfu, tū́gfĕn, yū́gfu, yū́gfĕn
conj. suff.: *wugŏ́f^{e}t, wugŏ́f^{e}t, wugŏ́fti, wugŏ́f, wugúfăt*
wugŏ́fna, wugŏ́ftu, wugŏ́ftĕn, wugúfăw, wugúfăn

3.1.5.5 Racines concaves: paradigmes

Catég. 1: *lā́m, ilū́m*
conj. préfix.: *nlū́m, tlū́m, tlū́m, ilū́m, tlū́m*
nlū́mu, tlū́mu, tlū́mĕn, ilū́mu, ilū́mĕn
conj. suff.: *lĕ́m^{e}t, lĕ́m^{e}t, lĕ́mti, lā́m, lā́măt*
lĕ́mna, lĕ́mtu, lĕ́mtĕn, lā́māw, lā́măn
Catég. 2: *lā́g, ilī́g*
conj. préfix.: *nlī́g, tlī́g, tlī́g, ilī́g, tlī́g*
nlī́gu, tlī́gu, tlī́gĕn, ilī́gu, ilī́gĕn
conj. suff.: *lĕ́g^{e}t, lĕ́g^{e}t, lĕ́gti, lā́g, lā́găt*
lĕ́gna, lĕ́gtu, lĕ́gtĕn, lā́gāw, lā́găn
Catég. 3: *bā́n, ibā́n, ḫā́f, iḫā́f*
conj. préfix.: *nbā́n, nḫā́f*
nbā́n, tbā́n, tbā́ni, ibā́n, tbā́n
nbā́nu, tbā́nu, tbā́nĕn, ibā́nu, ibā́nĕn
conj. suff.: *bĕ́nt, bĕ́nt, bĕ́nti, bā́n, bā́nat*
bĕ́nna, bĕ́ntum, bĕ́ntĕn, bā́naw, bā́năn
ḫŭf^{e}t, ḫŭf^{e}t, ḫŭfti, ḫā́f, ḫā́făt
ḫŭfna, ḫŭftu, ḫŭftĕn, ḫā́fu (aw), ḫā́făn

3.1.5.6 Racines défectueuses

Catég. 1: *beká, yĭ́bki*
conj. péfix.: *nĕ́bki, tĕ́bki, tĕ́bki, yĭ́bki, tĕ́bki*
nĕ́bk^{y}u, tĕ́bk^{y}u, tĕ́bk^{y}ĕn, yĭ́bk^{y}u, yĭ́bk^{y}ĕn
conj. suff.: *bekḗt, bekḗt, bekḗti, beká, bekắt*
bekḗna, bekḗtu, bekḗtĕn, bekáw, bekán
Catég. 2: *bedá, yắbda*
conj. préfix.: *nắbda, tắbda, tắbdăy, yắbda, tắbda*
nắbdăw, tắbdăw tắbdăn, yắbdăw, yắbdăn
conj. suff.: *bedḗt, bedḗt, bedḗti, bedá, bedắt*
bedḗna, bedḗtu, bedḗtĕn, bedáw, bedán
Catég. 3: *nsī́, yắnsä*
conj. préfix.: *nắnsä, tắnsä, tắnsäy, yắnsä, tắnsä*
nắnsäw, tắnsäw, tắnsän, yắnsäw, yắnsän
conj. suff.: *nsī́t, nsī́t, nsī́ti, nsí, nĕ́syăt*
nsī́na, nsī́tu, nsī́tĕn, nĕ́syăw, nĕ́syăn

3.1.5.7 Le verbe bā 'vouloir'
Le paradigme n'est pas donné, mais j'ai pu relever dans les textes des formes qui montrent la variabilité des formes à la conjugaison préfixale; en effet, il y a trois radicaux possibles. A la conj. suff., il n'apparaît que sous la forme *bā, bīt*. Par contre, à la conj. préf., on note un paradigme mixte. Les formes *nəbbi, təbbi, yəbbi* sont signalées dans *Esquisse* (73) (*nĕ́bbi bĭ́ntäk*:10); c'est la forme qu'utilisent les *Duwwāda* (98). On trouve également une alternance entre *tbī́ et tābā́: tbī́* (41); *u hĕ́yyä mā*-tābā-*š tkắllmä* (8); *wḗn* ibí *ibărrắkʸha, mā*-tābā́-*š* (34); *ĕ́lli* ibí *wŭ́lda yébṛa* (50). Il se grammaticalise aussi sous la forme d'un préverbe *bi*- (voir plus bas 4.2).

3.1.6 *Verbes hamzés* (formes relevées dans les textes)
La question n'a pas été traitée; on trouve quelques occurrences de formes verbales dans les textes qui permettent de reconstituer en partie le paradigme: conj. suff.: *kəlā́-ha ẖŭdḗt-hä*; conj. préf.: sg. *tā́ẖĕḏ, tā́ẖuḏ, tā́kəl, yā́kəl*; pl. *yāẖḏu*.

3.1.7 *Passif*

3.1.7.1 Comment se forme le passif? avec une forme dérivée? laquelle?
Deux formes dérivées servent à marquer le passif, la VIIème et la VIIIème (qui marque aussi un réfléchi-passif): *ĕngetắl, ĕnḥắll, əmbā́ʿ* 'être tué', 'être ouvert', 'être vendu'; *əftắkk, ĕttā́kĕl, ĕltédăġ* 'être délivré', 'être mangé-mangeable', 'être piqué par un serpent'.

3.1.7.2 Y a-t-il des traces de passifs vocaliques?
Oui, avec un schème *Fŭ́ʿLa*. Dans un texte nomade (no. 9), on trouve trois exemples: *əd-dắrr mā-yəmbā́ʿ-š u-lā*-yŭ́šra—*ḥătta j-jŭ́bna* tŭ́ʿṭá *u-lā*-tŭbā́ʿ. 'Le lait ne se vend ni ne s'achète, le fromage [également] se donne et ne s'achète ni ne se vend'. Le passif vocalique, *yŭ́šra, tŭ́ʿṭá, tŭbā́ʿ* s'oppose à l'actif, *yĭ́šri, tắʿṭe, tbīʿ*.

3.1.8 *Participes*
Les participes ne sont pas donnés avec les paradigmes verbaux; on en trouve des exemples dans les textes.

3.1.8.1 Le participe actif et le participe passif des verbes dérivés sont-ils confondus?

3.1.8.2 Pour les 2ème et 5ème formes, les participes actifs et passifs sont-ils confondus?
Pour la IIème forme, participes actifs et passifs semblent avoir la même forme *m-CvCCvC*:

IIème forme: participes actifs: *mdăẖẖl-ī́n-ä* 'le faisant entrer', *mwăṛṛḗd-ha* 'la dirigeant', *mrắwwḥa* 'retournant', *mtắhhĕr* 'celui qui circoncit', participes passifs: *mġămmḍắt* 'yeux fermés', *mkaffᵉfa, mʿắlleg* 'accroché'.
Vème forme: Il semble que les participes actifs soient de la forme *mvtCCvC* et donc, que les participes de la IIème et de la Vème formes ne sont pas confondus: *mətwắjjeh* 'se dirigeant', (*Duwwāda* 98), *mətgắwwi* 'vigoureux'.
VIIIème forme: participes passifs: *mĕttắkĕl* 'ayant été mangé'.

3.2 *Pronoms*

3.2.1 *Pronoms indépendants*

La variation entre les différents parlers a très bien été étudiée par Ph. Marçais (173–175); il donne les paradigmes pour chaque parler étudié. Pour le *Shatiʾ*, il a analysé des parlers sédentaires (*Jdid, Brâk*), et nomades (*Mahrouga, Hotman, Megarha*); la région de *Sebha* est absente, mais il a ajouté le sud de la région, avec *Murzuk*. Il y a des points communs à tous ces parlers: pas de distinction de genre à la 1ère pers.; distinction de genre à la 2ème et à la 3ème pers. du singulier **et** du pluriel, pour les sédentaires comme pour les nomades:

Sédentaires:
Jdid, Brâk

	sg.	pl.
1.	*ắnä*	*ḥná, ḥḗnna*
2.m.	*ḗnta*	*ḗntum*
2.f.	*ḗnti*	*ḗntĕn*
3.m.	*hṓwwa, hu*	*hṻm, hṻmma*
3.f.	*hḗyyä, hi*	*hḗn, hḗnna*

Nomades:
Brâk (Châti)

	sg.	pl.
1.	*ắne*	*ḥné, ḥĕ́nna*
2.m.	*ĕ́nta*	*ĕ́ntum*
2.f.	*ĕ́nti*	*ĕ́ntĕn*
3.m.	*hŏ́wwa*	*hŭ́m*, ***hŭ́ṃṃ^{w}a***
3.f.	*hĕ́yyä*	*hĕ́nn, hĕ́nna*

Il note les variantes suivantes:

Brâk (Mahrouga, Hotman)

1.	*ī́nä*	
3.m.		*hŭ́ṃṃ^{w}a*

Shéké

1.	*ī́nä*	
3.m.		*hŭ́m*, ***hŭ́ṃṃ^{w}a***

Megarha

1.	*né*	*ḥné*
3.m.		*hŭ́m, hŭ́mma*

Le parler des *Zentan* se caractérise par de nombreuses formes renforcées:

Zentan

1.	*ne, ắnä, ānắyä*, ***īnāyắtha***	*ḥná*, ***ḥnā̆yắtha***, *nắḥna*
2.m.		*ĕ́ntum*, ***ĕ́ntūmā́ta, ĕ́ntūmắha***
3.m.		*hŭ́m, hŭ́mma*
3.f.		*hĕ́nn*

Murzuk

1.	*ắne*	*nắḥnu, ḥĕ́nna*
2.m.	*ente*	
3.m.		*hŭ́m, hŭ́mma*
3.f.		*hĕ́n, hĕ́nna*

Les points de variation portent sur le degré de *ʾimāla* des voyelles finales, sur la labio-vélarisation, et sur l'existence de formes renforcées.

3.2.1.8 Comment dit-on: ‘toi et moi’, ‘lui et moi’ etc.?
J’ai trouvé une occurrence dans les textes, chez des sédentaires, (8) *hŏ́wwa w-ĕyyā́-ha* ‘lui et elle’.

3.2.2 *Pronoms suffixes*

3.2.2.1 Donnez tout le paradigme
Le paradigme n’est pas donné dans le manuscrit, on trouve des remarques dans *Esquisse* (191–193) et de nombreuses occurrences dans les textes; il y a distinction de genre aux 2ème et 3ème pers., au singulier comme au pluriel:

	Joints aux vbs.	Joints aux noms
sg.1.	*-ni*	*-i, iyya, -a*
2. m.	*-ək, -k*	
2 f.	***-ək^{y}, -k^{y}, -k̲***	
3. m.	***-ä***, *-h* (après voyelle)	
3. f.	*-ha*	
pl. 1.	*-na*	
2. m.	*-kum*	
2. f.	***-kĕn***	
3. m.	*-hŭm*	
3. f.	***-hĕ́n***	

On trouve le paradigme complet avec la préposition *li* (177): *liyya, lī́k, lī́k^{y}, lī́h, lī́ha, lī́kum, lī́kĕn, lī́hum, lī́hĕn.*

3.2.2.2 Lorsque le mot se termine par ʿ ou *ḥ*, et qu’on lui ajoute le pronom féminin *-ha*, que se passe-t-il? Y a-t-il assimilation du *h*?
On trouve deux cas de figures, chez les nomades (N), comme chez les sédentaires (S):

Assimilation: (32) (N) *b-ṛōḥḥum* (54) (S) *b-ṛôḥḥa* (10) (S) *krâḥḥa*
Pas d’assimilation: (32) (N) *b-ṛwā́ḥ-hum* (28) (N) *b-ṛōḥ-hən.*

3.2.3 *Adverbes interrogatifs*
Les réponses qui suivent viennent souvent de l’*Esquisse* ou du chapitre sur les adverbes interrogatifs (178–179).

3.2.3.1 Comment dit-on ‘qui’?
mnu, mni, mənhum (*Esquisse* 200); en combinaison, on utilise *mən*: ‘pour qui est-ce?’: *l-mən hā̆ḏa?*

3.2.3.2 Comment dit-on ‘que’, ‘quoi’?
šḗ̆nhu, ēš, šən, ĕyšən (*Esquisse* 201)

3.2.3.3 Comment dit-on ‘quel’?
ĕyyən (*Esquisse* 202)

3.2.3.4 Comment dit-on ‘combien’?
kắmm, b-kắmm, gădd-ā̆š, gʸəddāš; indiqué comme plutôt sédentaire (*Fezzân* 179): *kʸăm: kʸăm ʿadắd-hum?* ‘quel est leur nombre?’ *b-kʸăm ẖŭdḗt-hä?* ‘combien l’as-tu achetée?’, ‘de quelle taille?’ *gădd-ḗš, gădd-wḗš, ʿalā-gēṣ-ḗš?*

3.2.3.5 Comment dit-on ‘où’, ‘vers où’, ‘d’où’?
wēn, wēn-hi?

3.2.3.6 Comment dit-on ‘quand’? (178)
Les formes sont nombreuses: *wăgᵉt-tā̆š, wăgᵉt-w-éš, ə̆mta, w-ə̆mta, w-ā̆mta, mta, ā̆mta, mtā̆š: ly-ā̆mta nətlāgo?* ‘quand nous reverrons-nous?’; *ā̆mta nšū̆f-u?* ‘quand le verrai-je?’; ‘jusqu’à quand?’ *ĕlyā̆-mta, ĕlyā̆-wēn*; ‘depuis quand?’ *mn-ə́mta, mn-ā̆mta.*

3.2.3.7 Comment dit-on ‘comment’?
kīf-ḗš, kēf-wḗš, kēf.

3.2.3.1 Comment dit-on ‘pourquoi’, ‘avec quoi’ etc.?
(Fezzân 179)
‘Pourquoi’: *ʿalēš, ʿalā-wḗš?* ‘dans quel but’: *l-wḗš, mĕn- wḗš*; ‘par quoi, avec quoi’: *bḗš, bᵇḗš, bwḗš*; ‘avec quoi’: *ʿmā-wḗš*; ‘dans quoi’: *fḗš, fʷḗš, fwḗš*; ‘sur quoi’: *ʿalā-wḗš?*; ‘de quoi’: *ĕnta jänā-wḗš, ĕnti jănt-wḗš, ĕntum jäni-wḗš, ĕnten jänāt-wḗš* (voir 4.1.2). Le suffixe utilisé est soit *-ēš*, soit *-wḗš.*

3.2.4 *Comment dit-on ‘maintenant’, ‘en ce moment’, ‘tout de suite’?*
táw(w), employé avec la valeur de ‘en train de’: *táw təmli* ‘en train de puiser’ (*Fezzân* 70). On relève *sāʿtha* dans *Esquisse* (255). ‘Aussitôt, rapidement, immédiatement’: *fī-sā̆ʿ*.

3.3 *Nominaux*

3.3.1 *Diminutifs*

Il n'y a pas d'étude consacrée à cette question dans l'ouvrage; de plus, il y a peu de diminutifs dans les textes. J'en ai relevé quelques-uns, sans qu'un traitement sérieux de la question puisse être fait.

3.3.1.1 Quel est le diminutif des trilitères?

ġzḗyyĕl 'pénis' (207), *bənt* > pl. dim. *bnaiyâṭ; ʿū́d* > pl. dim. ^{ʿo}*wēdât* (16); *ma* > ^{u}*m*^{ww}*êi̇ya* (fém.) (15), ^{um}*m*^{w}*ēi̇yăt-eš-šežắṛ* (16); *ŭ́mm* > ^{m}*mwḗma* (203).

3.3.1.2 Quel est le diminutif des quadrilitères?

Je n'ai relevé qu'un seul exemple: *mḥī́gən*, pl. *mḥīgnā́t* (12) 'petits cornets de papier'.

3.3.1.3 Quel est le diminutif des adjectifs qualificatifs?

Voici les formes rencontrées dans les textes pour les adjectifs en *C(v)Cī́C: rgī́g(a)* > *rgḗyyig, ṣġḗyyər.*

3.3.2 *Pluriels*

Les pluriels ne sont pas traités dans le travail; j'ai relevé quelques occurrences dans les textes. Il y a quelques listes de vocabulaire dans l'étude du lexique (183–185).

Trilitères, quelques schèmes de pluriel:

CeCCā́n:	*ḥwār, ḥīrān—geʿūd, goʿdā́n—dắlu, dĕlwā́n—jedăʿ, jedʿā́n,*
ăCCā́n:	*kḗmm, ăkmā́n—mésănn, ămsā́n,*
CCūCa:	*tələb, tlūba—gắləb, glū́ba—sĕdel, sdū́la,*
C(v)CūC:	*rāys, rĭyōs—gḗd, gyū́d.*

Quadrilitères: on trouve les deux schèmes *CvCāCīC* et *CvCāCəC*, chez les nomades, comme chez les sédentaires, alors que cela était un des critères distinctifs entre les deux (Voir W. Marçais 1950; Ph. Marçais 1957):

CvCāC(ə)C:	*šekā́yr* (20) (N), *ḫănā́fəs* (38) (N), *taṛā́tĕr* (4) (S), *manā́ṣəb* (26) (N), *ḥegā́yg* (184) (N), *zuwā́yd, m(a)ṛā́jĕʿ, medā́yĭ́r, wugā-gif* (185) (S *Jedid*),
CvCāCīC:	*šəmārī́ḫ* (32) (N), *ḫolāḫîl* (46) (S), *məsākī́n* (49) (N), *maġālī́g* (185) (S *Jedid*).

3.3.3 *Intensifs*

On trouve le schème *CvCûC* (163): *ġayûr* 'jaloux', *ṣobûr* 'endurant'.

3.3.4 *Adjectifs*

3.3.4.1 Adjectifs qualificatifs (164)
Seul le singulier est donné (62 adjectifs sur le schème *CeCîC*): *leḏîḏ, šerîf, ʿajîb, ṣoġîr, keṯîr, semîn* etc.

3.3.4.2 Adjectifs de couleur et de 'difformité' (183)

masc. *(ắCCvC)*	fém. *(CắCC-a)*	pl. *(CCǘC)*	
ắkḥăl	*kắḥla*	*kḥǘl*	
ắswäd	*sū́da*	*swū́d*	
ắṣfăṛ	*ṣắfṛa*	*ṣfṓṛ*	
ắšẖăm	*šắẖma*	*šẖǘm*	gris noir
ắšhăb	*šắhba*	*šhǘb*	gris blanc
ắṣmåṛ	*ṣắmṛa*	*ṣmṓṛ*	fauve brun
ắʿwåṛ	*ʿōṛa*	*ʿwṓṛ*	
ắḥwäl	*ḥū́la*	*ḥwǘl*	etc.

3.3.4.3 Elatifs
Le point n'est pas traité, mais quelques formes ont été trouvées dans les textes: *ắkṯər, ắktăṛ, ắkbăr.*

3.3.5 *Duels: Comment se forme le duel? Quel est le suffixe? Est-il courant?*
Le suffixe est *-ḗn*, mais son emploi n'est pas très courant dans les textes; il est surtout fréquent avec les noms d'unités et de mesures: *ṯəlṯ-ḗn, ālf-ḗn, ʿām-ḗn, ṯəlṯ-ḗn, ẖubəztḗni.* Et les parties doubles du corps: *īdḗn*; avec le pronom affixe, le *-n* du suffixe tombe: *īdḗ-h, kăṛʿḗ-ha, ṛŭkbḗ-ha.* On utilise aussi une construction avec *zōz: fi-l-ʿyûn ez-zôz.*

3.3.6 *Noms de nombre*

3.3.6.1 Quels sont les noms de nombre de 1 à 10?
État libre: *wā́ḥĕd/wúḥda, zōz, tlā́ta/ṯlā́ṯa, ắṛbaʿa, ẖắmsa, sḗtta, săbʿ, ʿắšṛa* (formes trouvées dans les textes), état construit: *zōz-ġarā́yr, ṯelṯ ršādā́t, ẖăms-alā́f, ẖăms-esnīn, sĕttᵉ-grûn, săbʿ-šuwāri, səbʿ-eyyā́m.*

Il semble bien qu'il n'y ait pas de construction réservée aux noms de mesure et que tous les noms fonctionnent de la même façon.

3.3.6.2 Quels sont les noms de nombre de 11 à 19?
État libre: *lŏṭnā́š, aṛbåʿṭā́š, ẖamsṭā́š, soṭṭā́š*, état construit: *soṭṭā́š-l-flī́j, ŏṭnā́š-əš-šáhᵃṛ.*

4. *Syntaxe*

4.1 *Possession et pronom relatif*

Dans certains parlers maghrébins préhilaliens, la particule qui marque la possession et le relatif sont confondus en *di*, *eddi* ou *elli*. Ce n'est pas le cas du Fezzān.

4.1.1 *La construction synthétique est-elle très employée?*

Parlant de l'annexion directe, Ph. Marçais (*Esquisse* 166) dit "on peut constater que l'emploi en est courant en Libye et en Tunisie, ainsi que dans les parlers bédouins sahariens. (. . .) On note en outre que l'usage en va décroissant d'est en ouest". On devrait donc s'attendre à un emploi abondant au Fezzān; on trouve cependant dans les textes de nombreuses occurrences de constructions analytiques. Les emplois fezzānais sont très similaires à ceux des autres parlers du Maghreb avec des expressions comme: *ᵐmwālī-l-ʿḗrs, ṣālā́t-ĕl-fájer, ẖĕdmät-ĕṣ-ṣṓf, ṣăḥd-ən-nā́ṛ; šedī́d-el-ḥḗl, sūd-ĕl-mänā́səm, ou bēt-ĕṛ-ṛjĕl*, mais la construction analytique est aussi présente.

4.1.2 *La construction analytique: quelle est la préposition utilisée? S'accorde-t-elle en genre et en nombre avec le possédé?*

Il y en a deux, l'une, connue *mᵃtāʿ*, fém. *mtā̆ʿt/metā́ʿăt*, l'autre, moins: *jna/jĕn* au masc., *jənt* au fém., *jni* et *jnāt*, aux plur. masc. et fém. Ils s'accordent en genre et en nombre, mais le pluriel inanimé s'accorde au fém. sg.: *l-ḥᵃwā́ij mətāᵆt-ḍăfṛ-ĕṛ-ṛā́s; əl-ʿḗlba mtā̆ʿt-əz-zā́ila; lə-ḥlī́b mtā́ʿ-l-ġănắm; l-wā̆́jʿa metā́ʿăt-l-ulā́da; rīša jănt-ed-dijā́j* 'une plume de poulet' (52), à *Gorda* (4) *l-imā́m jĕn-lə-blā́d*. Ph. Marçais (*Esquisse* 168) signale cette dernière forme comme 'strictement libyenne' et fezzānaise.

4.1.3 *Le relatif*

Le relatif est *ḗlli*.

4.1.4 *Comment dit-on 'la mère'/'le père'/'le frère de X', 'son père', 'sa mère'?*

Au moyen d'un simple état construit: *ŭmm-lă-ʿrūs, bū-ha, bū-sī́f, bū-l-ʿḗn, ẖū́-ha*.

4.2 *Expression du futur*

Le futur se forme au moyen d'un préverbe *b-/bī-*, à rapprocher du verbe *bā́-ibí/ibbi*[5] 'vouloir', (voir 3.1.5.7): *wắgᵉt bī-yŭ́rgŭd* 'quand le patient va dormir'; *l-ġáda ma-b-ijī́-kum* 'le déjeuner ne vous arrivera pas'. Ce préverbe marque aussi la volonté: *bī-ṭrṓwwəm ʿlḗha ḥwā́r ā́ẖăṛ* 'tu veux lui faire allaiter un autre chamelon', p. 38. Chez les *Duwwāda* (98), le préverbe a aussi un sens final: *b-əndéwwŏ̄ṛ* 'pour emmener'.

4.3 *Réfléchi*

Le réfléchi s'exprime au moyen du mot *ṛṓḥ* qui s'accorde ou non en nombre: *b-ṛwā́ḥ-hum, b-ṛṓḥ-hĕn* etc.

4.4 *Démonstratifs-déictiques*

4.4.1 *Quel est le démonstratif désignant l'espace de l'énonciateur?*
ha, invariable en genre et en nombre: *ha-l-ḥâlä, ha-l-ḥawêij, hā-l-ulḗd*; (55) *ha-l-ḥawêij-hādên*, avec un pronom au fém. pl. Il existe également une forme *hād: hād-l-yôm*.

4.4.2 *Quel est le démonstratif désignant l'espace du co-énonciateur?*
hadâk-ed-dᵉhân; on trouve: *hadâk, hādī́k, hādṓk*.

4.4.3 *Comment dit-on 'ici' 'là'?*
'ici' *hûn*; 'là' *ġā́di*.

4.5 *Prépositions*

4.5.1 *Comment dit-on 'à', 'pour', et 'à, vers'?*
l/lī dans les deux cas (il existe également une préposition *ĕlyä*, donnée avec le sens de 'jusqu'à', mais dont les emplois se recoupent

[5] Dans un texte nomade, on trouve un emploi de ce verbe: *wḗn* ibí *ibarrắkᵊha mātābā́-š* 'quand il veut la faire accroupir, elle s'y refuse' (34); de même dans un texte de sédentaires: *əlli* ibí *wŭ́lda yébṛa* 'celui qui veut que son enfant guérisse' (50). Le préverbe est également traduit avec le sens de 'vouloir': *əlli hú* bī-*yĭ́stắnna* 'celui qui veut attendre . . .'.

avec les précédentes (*ĕlyä ʿli* 'pour Ali'). *məšá lī-bḗt-ä; gā́l lī-ẖū́-h*; avec les pronoms, seul *li* est possible (voir le paradigme complet en 3.2.2.1).

4.5.2 *Donnez les prépositions les plus courantes*
b-, f-/fi, mən, ʿma (avec métathèse, *ʿmā bū-h*), *ʿmā-h, ʿlē-ha; fōg, tăḥt, mən tăḥt, waṛā́* etc.

4.6 *Négation*

4.6.1 *Quelle est la négation verbale?*
Il s'agit d'une négation double: *ma . . . š* (le *š* est parfois absent): *ma-yibġi, mā-ʿănd-ā-š, mā-tedwī́-š, mā-yebnū́-š* etc, comme c'est le cas en hassaniyya (voir Chaker & Caubet 1996).

4.6.2 *Quelle est la négation nominale?*
Il y a une forme invariable, ainsi qu'une marque combinée aux pronoms affixes ou indépendants: *mū́š: mū́š mĕttā́kĕl, mū́š ʿmā́-h*, un paradigme *ma* + pronoms: *ma-hu/mā́w, mā́k, ma-hnā́-š* etc. Plusieurs formes coexistent donc: *mā́hu gā́dĕr, mā́w gā́dĕr; u-mā-hū́-š mă<u>ḏ</u>fṓṛ, mū́š lī-ḥā́lha*. Une étude détaillée reste à faire.

5. *Lexique*

Il n'y a que trois pages de lexique dans l'étude; la plupart des mots du questionnaire ont été retrouvés dans les textes, grâce à l'index de L. Denooz ou dans les listes de la grammaire. Les mots choisis dans cette liste sont des points de variation connus. Les termes sont cités tels qu'ils ont été trouvés dans les textes.

Verbes:

faire	*ăʿmăl/dīr*	trouver	*lāga*
mettre	*dīr, ḥắṭṭ*	emporter	*gĕ́ll, igĕllu*
monter	*yắṭalʿaw*	sortir	*yŭẖṛṓj*
ouvrir	*iḥĕ́ll*	tirer	*jbĕd*
entrer	*dẖŏl/ẖū́šš*	attendre	*stắnna*
se lever	*inṓḏ, yū́gŭf*	prendre	*šĕ́dd, jbəd, yāẖ<u>d</u>ō*
vouloir/aimer	*bā/bġa/ḥĕ́bb*	jeter	*ṛma, lắwweḥ*
voir	*šbĕ́ḥ/ṛā*	attraper	*šĕ́dd*
recommencer	*iʿā́wdu*	parler	*tedwī́, kăllắm*
revenir	*iwắlli, yắṛjeʿu, irắwwĕḥ*		

devenir	*iwắlli, yắbda*	piler	*idŭ́ggu*
travailler/fabriquer	*yắẖdəmən*	dormir	*rgŭ́d*
s'asseoir/rester	*gaʿmĕz/gāʿed, yŭ́gʿŏd*	fermer	*ġămmăḍ* [yeux]
réclamer	*yŭ́ṭlŏb*	rester	*tŭ́gʿŏd*
enlever	*ṛofăʿ*	attacher	*ṛobăṭ*
entendre	*semĕ́ʿ*	envoyer	*bʿĕ́ṯ*
devenir petit	*ṣġŏ́ṛ*	devenir épais	*ġlŭ́ḍ*
devenir malade	*mṛŏ́ḍ*	devenir grand	*kbĕ́r*
rendre	*ṛắdd*	tousser	*kắḥḥ*
demander	*ẖăṭŏb*	faire mal	*yū́jʿa*
il faut que	*ḥŭ́kŏm* (42)	tout ce qu'il faut	*kŭll ma yắlzăm*

Le verbe *dīr* 'faire' est le plus courant; il y a une occurrence du verbe *ăʿmăl* dans un texte de sédentaires (il est considéré comme un verbe sédentaire et préhilalien). Le verbe *ẖŭ́šš* est considéré comme bédouin, or on le trouve chez les sédentaires de *Gorda*, comme chez les nomades *Gwayda*; le verbe *dẖŏl* est beaucoup plus rare. Le verbe *šbĕ́ḥ* 'voir' (bédouin) est employé massivement, mais l'on trouve aussi *ṛā*, considéré comme caractéristiques des vieilles cités du Maghreb. Les verbes inchoatifs sont sur le schème *fʿŭ́/ĕ́l: ṣġŏ́ṛ, ġlŭ́ḍ, mṛŏ́ḍ, kbĕ́r*.

Substantifs:

la nuit	*ĕl-lēl*	le matin	*əṣ-ṣ*^{u}*bā́ḥ*
les brebis/moutons	*ĕl-ġanắm*		
les gens	*n-nā́s yŭṭʿmṓ-**ha*** (accord au fém. sg.)		
homme	*ṛā́jəl/tərrā́s*, duel *tărrās-ḗn*		
		les hommes	*ət-tərī́s*
femme	*l-maṛắ*	les femmes	*ĕn-nesāwī́n, ĕn-nĕswā́n, ən-nīsā́n*
jeune fille	*ĕṣ-ṣobĕ́yya*		
repas de midi	*fuṭûṛ*	petit-déjeuner	*faṭū́ṛ*
bouche	*fắmm*	main	*īd*
les poivrons	*əl-fĕ́lfəl*	les tomates	*ṭ*^{a}*mā́ṭŏm*
le cumin	*kămmū́n*	le thé	*eš-šā́hi*
le beurre	*z-zĕ́bdä*	beurre de conserve	*sắmən*
un œuf	*dắḥya, daḥit-ḗn*	un oignon	*rúšĕd, bắṣla*

Famille:

sœur	*úẖŏt-ha*	mère	*ŭ́mm-ha*
frère	*ẖû-h/aẖî-h*	père	*bû-h/abî-h*
grand-mère	*jăddāt-ha*	tante paternelle	*ʿămmắt-ha*
oncle paternel	*ʿắmm-ha*		

Quantificateurs:
un peu de: *šwey-ḫŭ́bza, šwéiyya ^{u}mm^{w}eiy, šwḗy-kămmū́n, šwéi-b^{u}ḫŭr šwḗyya* ***m-****ḥắlab, šwḗyya* ***mn-əl****-mĕnfāḥ, šwḗyya* ***mn-ən****-náḫ^{a}l* (on note deux constructions possibles, avec ou sans *mĕn*); 'beaucoup de' *yā́sĕr: bā́hi yā́sĕr, əl-ġanắm yā́sra* (accord au fém sg. d'un coll. animal) *ikắttru l-ḫŭ́bza yā́sĕr.*

Adverbes:

quelque chose	*šwĕi*	ne . . . personne	*ma . . . ḥădd*
quelqu'un	*wāḥəd*		
tout	*kŭll, kŭll šéi*	bon, bien	*bā́hi, məlī́ḥ*
demain	*ġŏ́dwä/bŏkṛa*	le lendemain	*mən-ġŏdwī́yya*
le 1[er] jour	*nhāṛ-ăwwəl-yṓm*		
ne plus	*lā-ʿād*	encore	*ʿād*
il n'est pas encore arrivé *mā-s-sāʿ-š ja*			

Saisons, climat:

pluie	*moṭắṛ*	tomber (pluie)	*tjí*
forte chaleur	*ən-nṓu*	été	*f-əṣ-ṣḗf*
hiver	*f-əš-štá*	printemps	*ər-rbī́ʿ*

On remarque que *moṭắṛ* a le sens de 'pluie', *nṓu*, celui de 'forte chaleur', et *štá* 'hiver'; alors que dans d'autres dialectes, ces trois mots peuvent tous avoir le sens de 'pluie'.

5. *Genre*

Comme dans tous les parlers arabes, certains adjectifs ne font pas l'accord au féminin: *ḥā́məl* 'enceinte', *bâləġ* 'pubère'. Au féminin pluriel, on trouve parfois des accords de l'adjectif au féminin pluriel: *daḥit-ḗn ṭāybā́t*, mais aussi au masculin pluriel: *el-banawît əṣ-ṣuġâṛ*. Au diminutif, *ma* 'eau' est féminin: *l-m^{w}eiya l-msăggʿa* (14). Certains mots féminins (en sémitique) ne comportent pas le suffixe *-a(t)*: *bắṭ^{o}n* 'ventre', *nāṛ* 'feu', *dā́ṛ* 'maison', *ʿḗn* 'œil'. [Voir aussi la contribution de Procaházka dans ce volume, *Eds*.]

6. *Conclusion*

Comme le remarquait W. Marçais, le Fezzān semble bien constituer *une entité*, avec des traits communs aux nomades et aux sédentaires, pour ce qui est du lexique et d'une partie de la morphologie: la variation n'est pas toujours là où on l'attendrait. En effet, les schèmes de pluriels quadrilitères attribués aux nomades (*CvCāCīC*) exis-

tent également chez les sédentaires et *vice versa*. Le Fezzān nous oblige donc à revisiter les distinctions traditionnelles de la dialectologie maghrébine. L'opposition nomade/sédentaire est sans doute plus tangible au niveau phonétique: présence ou absence d'interdentales, réduction des diphtongues, affrication du *k*, place de l'accent et structure syllabique. Certains de ces traits opposent cependant les sédentaires entre eux (*Sebha* et *Brâk*).

Le Fezzān des années 40 apparaît au dialectologue comme une région charnière (tout comme les oasis de l'ouest égyptien étudiée par Manfred Woidich), zone de transition avec certains traits qui la rapprochent sans doute des parlers bédouins de l'Orient. Il serait important de pouvoir constater en ce début de troisième millénaire les évolutions, mais également de pouvoir compléter aujourd'hui les enquêtes de l'époque.

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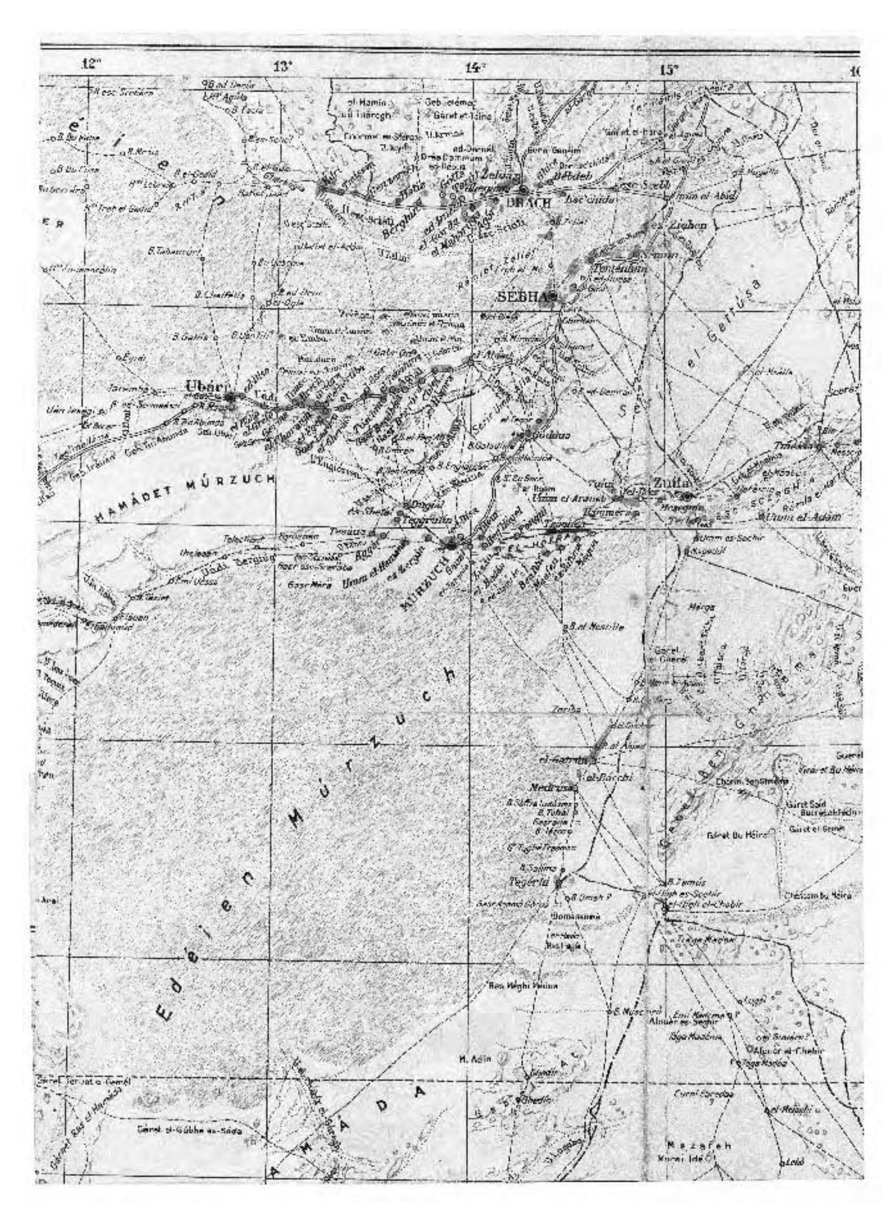
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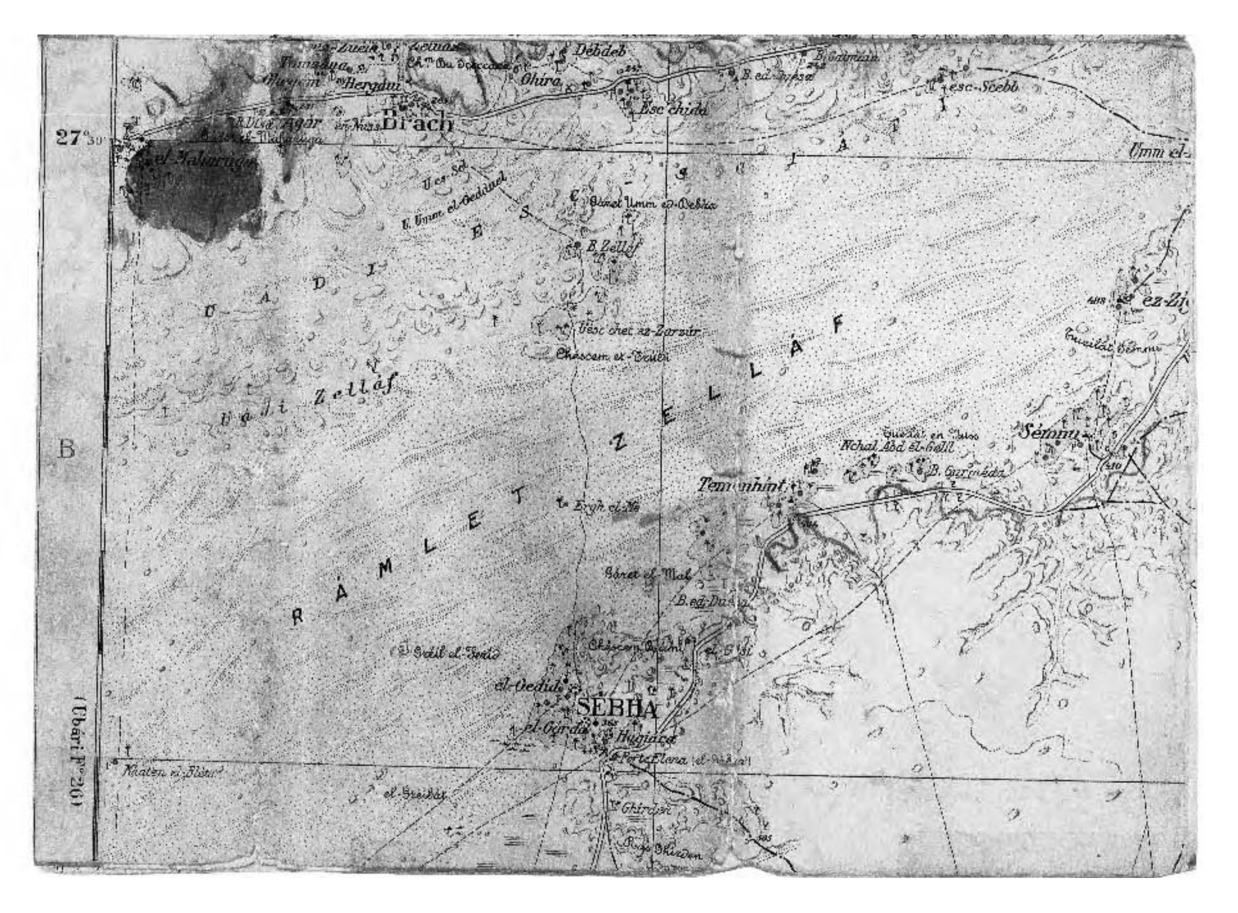
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QUADRILITERAL VERBS IN THE ARABIC DIALECTS OF EASTERN ARABIA

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1. *Introduction*

This paper presents some reflections on the morphology and semantics of quadriliteral verbs in the eastern Arabian (EA) dialects. The data cited were mostly gathered in Baḥrayn in the 1970s,[1] but there is also some comparative material which I collected in Oman some ten years later. The EA quadriliteral verb is a particularly interesting subject for lexicology, as its morpho-semantic possibilities seem to have been extended and exploited in ways different from CLA/MSA. The result is that the quadriliteral verbs are among the most expressive, colourful and idiomatic elements in these dialects. They are particularly well represented in descriptions of bodily states, moods and actions, and there is a fairly systematic correlation between various form-types and meaning-types, as we shall see.

Perhaps the most striking fact about quadriliteral verbs in the EA dialects is how common they are. Along with the structurally similar Theme II of the triliteral verb, the quadriliteral is the most productive verb type in these dialects (in the sense of 'still producing new verbs'). This is illustrated by the considerable number of denominative examples which have been assimilated into the morphology and phonology of the dialects, yet which are clearly derived from relatively recent foreign borrowings, e.g. *kansal* 'to cancel, annul' (< English 'cancel'), *tbančar* 'to have a puncture' (< English 'puncture'), *ṭarbal* 'to cover or line with plastic sheeting'[2] (<*ṭirbāl* '[plastic] sheeting, covering' ultimately < English 'tarpaulin'). In a data base of around 400,000 words of natural conversation gathered from one

[1] A glossary of the vocabulary of a large cross-section of uneducated speakers was published as Holes (2001).

[2] As in the example *hāfāt ǧihāl əmṭarbalīn* 'children's plastic-covered underpants'. *hāf* (< English 'half') is used to refer to any kind of shorts or short-pants.

hundred uneducated Baḥraynī speakers, 141 different quadriliteral verbs occurred. Most of these verbs fell into one of several clear formal categories described below.

The evidence suggests that, as in many other Arabic dialects, there were historically probably a limited number of processes—chiefly reduplication and affixation—by which the quadriliteral verb developed from the triliteral verb system (in some cases, arguably, from biliteral elements). In many cases, however, it is implausible to trace quadriliterals to verbal roots. Many must originally have been denominatives formed in a similar way to the recent English ones exemplified above. This is obvious in cases like *ṣandag* 'to cover over, roof over' (< *ṣandūg* 'box, chest'), *tsarwal* 'to put on, wear trousers' (< *sirwāl* 'trousers', ultimately < Persian/Urdu *šalwar* 'trousers'), *tṣēmax* 'to feign deafness, pretend not to hear' (< *aṣmax* 'deaf') where the source dialectal noun or adjective is still in common use. But in other cases the verb was derived from Classical Arabic or dialectal words and concepts now lost, or at least no longer common knowledge to the ordinary speaker. A good example of a dialectal denominative with pure Classical roots is the verb *tǧarham* 'to attack, assail ferociously' which ultimately goes back to the CLA terms *ǧirham* 'epithet of a lion' and/or *ǧurhum* 'boldness in war',[3] though neither of these words is known to the illiterate speakers who use dialectal *tǧarham*. An example of a now obscure dialectal derivation is the verb *(t)dēram* or *(t)dōram*, which means 'to apply lipstick [to oneself]'. This verb appears to be derived from *daram* (or *dōram*), a name for the bark of a type of tree (the walnut?) used by Gulf women until the 1930s and 40s as a cosmetic to redden lips, especially when preparing a bride for her wedding.[4] In other cases of dialectal derivation, such as *tšalbah* 'to dandify oneself, spruce oneself up', the verb was possibly borrowed as it is from a neighbouring Arabic dialect, in this case Iraqi: *tšalbah* seems to be derived from the adjective *čalabi*, Iraqi Arabic for 'dignatory, merchant', a word ultimately of Turkish origin[5] not used in Baḥraynī Arabic.

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[3] These are the meanings given in the *Lisān al-ʿArab*.

[4] Noted by both al-Ḥanafī (1964:141) and Dickson (1949:157) for Kuwayt. Hava's dictionary notes *darmāʾ* for CLA as 'a red-leaved plant' but this does not seem to be the same thing as *daram/dōram*.

[5] *tšalbah* is not, however, noted in this sense by Woodhead & Beene (1967) for Baghdad, who give the meaning 'to climb'. The same Turkish input word gave rise

In the account which follows, the radical consonants are referred to by the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4. Where necessary, the consonantal shape of verbs which are derived quadriliterals is represented by these numbers with affixes, e.g. *tṭangar* 'to sulk' is an example of *t*1234. As we shall see below, one major strand of the meaning in many types of dialectal quadriliteral verbs is increased intensity, extensiveness of scope, or multiple agency compared with the simple triliteral verbs from which many of them are derived. Much the same thing can be said of many dialectal Theme II verbs which result from the doubling of the middle radical of Theme I. Rather than (as in CLA/MSA) the Theme II having most often factitive, causative, or ascriptive meaning, in the Gulf dialects it frequently has an intensive/extensive one,[6] e.g. *ṣāḥ* 'cry, weep'/*ṣayyaḥ* 'weep a lot, cry the place down', *taras* 'fill'/*tarras* 'fill right up', *tāḥ* 'throw'/*tawwaḥ* 'spew out', *tarak* 'leave'/*tarrak* 'leave in large numbers'. It sometimes seems almost arbitrary which of these two morphological schemes occurs in a given root. In some (see below) such as *h-ǧ-l*, there are parallel forms which seem to be synonymous variants, *haǧǧal* and *haǧwal* both meaning 'to kick out, throw out', and are seemingly both derived from CLA *haǧala* 'to throw'; but in other cases, there may be a subtle difference between the two types of form: quadriliteral *gaṣgaṣ* means 'to chop something up [e.g. an onion in cooking] into small pieces' (= intensive action) whereas Theme II *gaṣṣaṣ* is 'to do a lot of cutting' (= extensive over area or time), both verbs being derived from *gaṣṣ* 'to cut'. In fact Greenberg (1991:578) regards Theme II as a case of 'partial reduplication', and the reason we do not label such verbs as a type of reduplicative in normal Semitist nomenclature probably has more to do with the traditional grammarians' distinction between 'derived themes' and 'quadriliterals' than it does to a morphological and

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to slightly different semantic results in the Levant: Barthélemy (1935:403) notes *tšalban* 'être rasé', and *šalbāna* 'élégance', while Denizeau (1960:287) has *šellabi* 'joli' and *šalbāna* 'amabilité'.

[6] There are, of course examples of CLA 'intensive/extensive' Theme II verbs such as *kassara* 'to smash' (< Theme I *kasara* 'to break'), but to my knowledge there are no reliable statistics on how common this type of meaning was for Theme II at various stages of the history of the language. One has the strong impression that in MSA, the factitive/causative meaning of Theme II is much the most frequent type. In the Gulf dialects however—at least in the speech of the uneducated—'intensive/extensive' Theme II verbs remain common. The same thing is true of Najd, as reported in Ingham (1994:78).

semantic analysis of how such verb types actually function in the modern Arabic dialects.

Once we have excluded obvious denominative derivations such as those briefly exemplified above, EA quadriliteral verbs most often involve a phonological extension of a base form, whether by simply repeating it, or inserting into it one of a limited number of closely related phonetic elements—semi-vowels and continuants, but not usually obstruents. These processes of acoustic extension (which of course also occur in other Arabic dialects) are in the majority of cases mimetic of extended or repeated sounds, movements and actions which occur in the physical world. There is thus very often a direct relationship in this verb type between physical phonetic form and semantic function.

2. *Reduplicatives (1234 = 1212)*

This was one of the commonest categories encountered in my data.[7] In many cases, it seems that reduplicative verbs have been derived from doubled verbs which have the same root consonants, and represent extensive, intensive or repetitive extensions of the meanings of the corresponding doubled verbs. Here, reduplication signals Aktionsart or what might be termed inherent aspect. The precise type of meaning extension implied, compared with the simple form, cannot be predicted, e.g.

lamlam 'collect together, go around collecting from here and there' (cf. *lamm* 'to collect')

(1) *lamlamaw u lawwataw u gām ḥaṭṭāh fi margidih*
'They [= pearl-divers] went **filching** [pearls] from here and there, they wrapped them up, and hid them in their beds'

dagdag 'to knock repeatedly'; (idiomatically) 'to do bits and pieces of work' (cf. *dagg* 'to knock, beat')

(2) *tdagdig wiyyāhum yā ḥaǧǧi?*
'D'you **work at odd jobs** with them, Hajji?'

[7] Also in CLA: Procházka (1993:100) lists 655 verbs in this category.

naṭnaṭ 'to jump over, hop over, escape'[8] (cf. *naṭṭ* 'to jump')

(3) *mā fīkum ʿād tnaṭniṭūn, tašridūn?*
'Didn't any of you used to **go over the wall**, run away [from Koran school]?'

ṭamṭam 'to completely submerge, fill to the brim' (cf. *ṭamm* 'cover over')

(4) *šūf al-ḥīn hāy kān min yōm aski hina, aṭamṭim hāḏa*
'Look now, it's got like this since I've been watering here, **filling** [the seed-bed] **right up** [with water]'

taltan 'pull along, drag by force' (cf. dialectal *tall* 'to pull' throughout the Gulf and Arabia generally; CLA *taltala* 'to lead a beast behind one')[9]

(5) *yitaltinūnəh, yisḥabūnəh*
'They [= children, in a game] **drag him along by force**, pull him'

tġaṣġaṣ 'to be boxed in, cramped' (cf. *ġaṣṣ* 'to choke')

(6) *il-mātam ṣaġīr u mitġaṣġiṣ*
'The funeral house[10] is small and **all boxed in** [by other buildings]'

txaḍxaḍ 'to [gradually] tip or roll over' (cf. *xaḍḍ* 'to shake')

(7) *fi čandistəh, txaḍxaḍat is-saḥḥāra*
'As he leant into it, the box **[gradually] tipped over**.'

As can be seen from some of these examples, in addition to the extension of meaning which they carry compared to the source verb, reduplicatives often also involve an expressive, idiomatic amplification of the meaning of the corresponding doubled verb.

In some cases, the meaning extension is based on a *noun* in which radicals 2 and 3 are identical. A good example can be seen in the root *x-m-m*. The doubled verb *xamm* means 'to sweep [a floor, etc.]', but is also used in the sense of 'consume completely' (cf. English 'make a clean sweep'), as in the description of a pearl-diver 'sweeping'

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[8] The quadriliteral extension of *naṭṭ* in Syria is *naṭwaṭ* 'to jump about'.

[9] *taltan* rather than *taltal* in Baḥrayn, but the process still seems to be reduplicative, based on *tall*.

[10] That is, what is known elsewhere as a *ḥusēniyya*, a meeting-house for the reading of Shīʿī hagiographies.

the sea-bed clean of clams. The corresponding reduplicative *xamxam* extends both the literal and extended senses of *xamm*, meaning 'to do a lot of sweeping' but also, idiomatically 'to gobble up, completely consume [food]'.[11] However, the meaning of the derived form of the reduplicative, *txamxam*, seems not to be a development of either of these senses of *xamxam*—applied to agricultural land, it means 'to be overgrown or choked with weeds and rubbish'—and is rather a secondary derivation based on the verbal nouns *xamxama* or *xmām*, both of which mean 'sweepings', (and by extension any kind of) 'rubbish'. The relationship of *txamxam* is thus at two removes from the verb *xamm*. The same is probably true of *tġaṣġaṣ* in example (6) above: *ġaṣṣ* is 'to choke', whose verbal noun is *ġaṣṣ* 'choking', 'something which blocks the throat', and *tġaṣġaṣ* 'to be cramped, blocked in' would seem to be derived from the verbal noun *ġaṣṣ* in its sense of 'blockage'.

In a few cases of the doubled-verb/reduplicative correspondence, the Baḥraynī dialectal reduplicative seems to extend not a current dialectal sense of its corresponding doubled verb, but an older, CLA one. So for example dialectal *šabšab* means 'to work hard, run hither and thither', and seems to be a meaning extension of CLA *šabba* 'to prance' (compare dialectal *šabb* 'to set fire to'); dialectal *tġamġam* means 'to hide oneself away' cf. CLA *ġamma* 'to conceal' (*ġamm* as a verb not recorded in the dialect); dialectal *fašfaš* means, when said of a plant, 'to flourish, bloom', cf. the CLA phrase *fašša l-qawm* 'the people became fat [after leanness]',[12] whereas *fašš* as a verb[13] was not recorded in the dialect; *kamkam* 'to nibble on' cf. CLA *qamma*[14] 'to devour [dishes]', while *kamm/gamm* was not recorded as a verb.[15]

[11] This is the sense in Baḥrayn; as-Sabʿān (1983:154) gives the meaning of *xamxam* as 'to eat from a number of different types of food' for Kuwayt (for which Shīʿī village Baḥraynīs say *kamkam*).

[12] Lane's dictionary, *s.v.*, p. 2400. *fašfaš* in CLA has the sense 'to be weak minded', a sense which seems to have come through to the Syrian dialects, where it means 'to become weak, feeble'.

[13] *fašša* in the eastern Arabian dialects means 'cuttle-fish', and is unconnected etymologically with *fašfaš*.

[14] *kamkam* was recorded in a Shīʿī village, in whose dialect *k* regularly corresponds to CLA *q*.

[15] I say 'not recorded' advisedly. My data, though extensive, cannot claim to be exhaustive.

There are one or two EA reduplicatives which are clearly derived from triliteral verbs (or nouns) with one weak radical, e.g. *bačbač* 'to snivel, whinge, whine constantly' < *biča* 'to cry'; *ḍaḥḍaḥ* 'to be late in the morning' < *ḍiḥa* 'late morning',[16] as in:

(8) *kaff! asōdinha, u ʿugubmā asōdinha, mā tibačbič*
'Wallop! I whack her one, and when I've whacked her, she stops **snivelling**'

(9) *lēn ḍaḥḍaḥat id-dinya, axaḏaw rūḥhum u ṭlaʿaw*
'When **it got to late morning**, they [= Koran school-children] took themselves off and left'

Johnstone (1967:168) also notes *xazxaz* 'to come creeping' for Qatar, a verb which appears to be derived from the hollow verb *xāz* 'to move', which is commonly used in the southern Gulf, though not in the north. Brockett notes *salsal* 'to trickle' for the Bāṭina coast of Oman, which appears also to be derived from a hollow verb, *sāl* 'to flow'. Biliteral 'primitives' such as **ḍaḥ*, **xaz*, etc—subsequently extended in various ways such as vowel lengthening, the addition of final vowels, the doubling of the final consonant—may be the common origin of some, at least, of these doubled, weak, hollow and reduplicated forms.

Another sub-category of reduplicatives are onomatopoeic verbs. These occur in all types of Arabic. In the Baḥraynī data, I noted, among others, the following as probable candidates: *tartar* 'to talk aimlessly',[17] *čakčak* 'to grumble, complain, chunter',[18] *xağxağ* 'to babble incomprehensibly',[19] *tnaḥnaḥ* 'to clear one's throat, say 'ahem''.

[16] It is, however, possible that *ḍaḥḍaḥ* is a denominative, ultimately < CLA *ḍiḥḥ* 'sun'.

[17] Also in the Levant: Denizeau (1960:60) with similar meanings.

[18] *čakčak* could alternatively conceivably be derived from *šaka* 'to complain'. In the Sunnī dialect of the speaker who produced this item, a few words which in other dialects have *š* as a radical consonant, consistently have *č*, the commonest of these being 'to see' which is *čāf*, not *šāf*.

[19] The *Lisān al-ʿArab* notes *rağul xağğāğa* 'a man who does not talk sense', and *al-xağxāğ min ar-riğāl* 'man who speaks brokenly, to whose speech there is no thread'. In Yemeni Arabic (Piamenta 1990:121) *xağğağ* is 'to chatter, babble'.

3. *Pattern 1234 in which 1 = 3 and 2 = liquid (r or l) or nasal (n or m) or semi-vowel (w or y)*

3.1 *2 = liquid*

This category of verbs was also quite common in the data. Most are onomatopoeic or mimetic. Some seem to have been formed like the reduplicatives, that is, derived from doubled verbs (see above), but with a liquid in position 2. Examples:

barbag 'to blow, make bubbles in water'[20] (cf. CLA *baqbaqa* 'to make a gurgling sound [as an empty bottle plunged into water]' (perhaps both ultimately < CLA *baqqa* 'to pour an abundant rain'))

(10) *tāli yirūḥ yibarbiğ fi l-baḥar*
'Then he [= dead diver] [is just left to] go and **make bubbles** in the sea'

xarxaš 'to jingle, rustle' (cf. CLA *xašša* 'to clink [jewel]')[21]

(11) *xarxašt maxābi*
'I **jingled** [the money in] my pockets'

balbaṣ 'to dangle, cause a rope to balance and swing [over a protrusion]; to wag its tail [dog]' (cf. CLA *baṣbaṣa* 'to wag its tail [dog]', perhaps both ultimately < CLA *baṣṣa* 'to sparkle, glitter')

(12) *axaḏtha, balbaṣtha fi l-mīdāf*
'I grabbed it [= weighted rope] and **dangled it** over the [projecting] oar'

But in the majority of cases of quadriliterals of this form, the *r* or *l* seemed not to be an *insertion* into a triliteral root, but rather its original second radical, the root in these cases being extended by inserting a copy of the initial radical in position 3,[22] e.g.

gargaʿ and *gargaš* both meaning 'to clatter, bang, make a racket' (cf. CLA *qaraʿa* 'to knock, beat' and *qaraša* 'crunch, grind [with the teeth]').[23]

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[20] Brockett (1985:56) gives *burbaq* 'to bubble' for Oman.

[21] Equally plausibly, *xarxaš* could have been derived from CLA *xaraša* 'to scrape' via repetition of the first radical (see below).

[22] In his description of Damascene Arabic, Cowell (1964:255) implicitly considers reduplicatives to have also been derived by this process.

[23] Cf. Cairene *ʾarʾaš* 'to crunch [food, etc.], make a cracking, crunching noise'.

(13) *l-əṣbayān rāḥaw gargaʿaw*
'The boys would go **trick-or-treating**'[24]

ḥarḥaš 'to cough hoarsely' (cf. CLA *ḥaraša* 'to be rough')

(14) *istuwat ʿindi ḥarḥaša*
'I've developed **a hoarse cough**'

tbalbas 'to be speechless [with fear]' (cf. CLA *balasa* 'to be desperate, speechless, stupified')

(15) *hu minnāk mitbalbis, mitbalbis, yikūn "čān mā yikitlūnni, xādiʿīnni"*
'He was [standing] there, **speechless with fear**, [thinking], maybe, "if they don't kill me, they'll trick me"'

ḥalḥas 'to eat away at' (< (?) CLA *halasa* 'to emaciate [said of a disease]', via *ḥ* < *h*)

(16) *əmbayyin əmḥalḥas*
'It [= plant] looks as it's been **all eaten away** [by caterpillars]'

3.2 *2 = nasal*

In Baḥrayn, only two verbs were noted in this category, both obviously onomatopoeic:

bambaʿ 'to bleat [of sheep], stammer [with fright, of people]' and *dandar* 'to bicker, squabble', e.g.

(17) *yiṭlaʿ yibambiʿ*
'He [= the diver] would emerge [from the sea], **stammering incoherently**'

(18) *kil yōm ahwāš, kil yōm dandara*
'Everyday there were arguments, every day **bickering**'

In Oman, however, I recorded the verb *tsansaḥ* 'to slither, slide down',[25] which seems to be related to CLA *saḥḥa, tasaḥḥa* and *tasaḥsaḥa* all of which are used to describe water pouring or flowing down:

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[24] *gargaʿ* (Sunnī dialect) and *gargaš* (Shīʿī dialect) refer to the Gulf custom of children visiting houses in their neighbourhood on the night of the 15th of Ramadan to demand a treat, usually in the form of sweets (and if they didn't get one, to play a trick), exactly as at Halloween. The verbs describe the clattering and banging noises which they made by beating drums, beating on doors, etc. as they went from house to house.

[25] Also noted by Reinhardt (1894:253).

(19) *tsansaḥ wi s-siḥḥ yisawwi kyaha*
'He **slid down**, and the dates [he was carrying] went like this'

3.3 *3 = semi-vowel*[26]

Verbs in this category are mainly onomatopoeic or mimetic of actions which involve rapid or repeated movement. Some are derived from hollow verbs (i.e. the semi-vowel is not an insertion) by initial radical repetition. Examples recorded are *tḥōḥač* 'to wriggle' (cf. *ḥāč* 'to weave'),[27] *lōlaš* 'to ululate', and *tsāsar* 'to whisper to one another'.[28] The verb *gōgaz*, however, means 'to lean on',[29] e.g.

(20) *mara ngōgiz ʿalēha, yaʿni mara nuṣṣ ʿumurha*
'[I'd like to find] a woman [to marry] who I could **lean on**, a woman still with half her life left'

4. *Pattern 1234 in which 1 ≠ 3 and 2 = r, l, n, w, or y*

Whilst there are a number of clear categories of form/meaning relationships subsumed within this general pattern, in many cases the etymology of the form remains obscure.

For the purposes of this exposition, verbs of the *(t)CōCaC* and *(t)CēCaC* are treated as quadriliterals based on a triliteral element into which a semi-vowel has been introduced to modify its meaning, though in some expositions (e.g. Johnstone 1967) such forms are classified as a sub-species of Theme III verbs. This difference in nomenclature, as earlier commented on in regard to the distinction between Theme II verbs and reduplicatives, is largely one of descriptive tradition. While it is true that, as will be seen below, some

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[26] For most speakers in Baḥrayn the resulting *aw* and *aw* become *ō* and *ē* respectively, though there are some Shīʿī village dialects where the diphthong is preserved. Examples with *ō* and *ē* are quoted.

[27] Compare *tṭōṭaḥ* 'to totter' (< *ṭāḥ* 'to fall') and *tlōlaḥ* 'to wave, oscillate in the wind' (< *lāḥ* 'to appear, flash') noted by Ingham (1994:180, 183) for Najd.

[28] Ingham (1994:82) also gives *sāsar* 'to whisper' for Najd, and Ḥanẓal (1978:577) *tṣāṣar* with the same meaning. This is the only verb of this type I have come across where the insertion is *ā* rather than *ō* or *ē*.

[29] This verb (in the form *qawqaz*) is also noted for Lebanon by Frayḥa (1947:146) as 'to sit in an unstable position; cause to wobble' and by Fleisch (1944:180) with the meaning 'crouch down'.

CōCaC verbs do have alternatives in *CāCaC* which are superficially similar to CLA Theme III verbs in form, in other cases the *CōCaC* and *(t)CēCaC* forms are associated with particular types of meaning—colours, other physical characteristics, the feigning of states—which have no connection with CLA Theme III and constitute distinct dialectal sub-categories, though whether they should be included in the category 'quadriliteral' or not is a moot point.

4.1 *2 = w*

A major sub-category of this type of form involves colours and physical characteristics (not just defects). Although forms similar to CLA Theme IX do occur in the dialect (possibly borrowings from MSA), it seems that *CōCaC* is the original dialect form for 'colour' verbs and inchoative and stative verbs which express these types of meaning, e.g.

ḥōmar 'to be, become reddish':

(21) *ʿuyūnəh činnha šway əmḥōmra*[30]
'His eyes look a little **blood-shot**'

And so with all the colours, e.g. *bōyaḍ* 'to become whitish', *ṣōfar* 'to turn pale', etc.

fōšaḥ 'to be, become bow-legged' (cf. CLA *fašaḥa* 'he parted his legs')

(22) *šābb čidi əmfōšaḥ, mā yigdar yimši minha*
'A young man, sort of **bow-legged**, who couldn't walk because of it [= disease]'

ʿōrağ 'to have a zig-zag pattern'[31] (cf. CLA *ʿariğa* 'to be lame, walk with a limp')

(23) *ṯyāb l-əmʿōrağ*[32]
'Dresses with a **ziz-zag** [pattern]'

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[30] But compare the following line of dialect poetry ('Abdurraḥmān Rafīʿ), in which the more 'classical' form is used: *wağhik miṯil il-ward miḥmarr* 'your face is as pink as a rose'.

[31] Al-Ṭājir (1982: 86) notes *ṭōwal* 'to be longish' for Baḥrayn < *ṭawīl* (I did not encounter this verb). For Daṯīna, southern Yemen, Landberg (1920–1942:2278) gives *taʿarwağ* 'to run in a zig-zag', where it is *r* rather than *w* which is inserted into the root.

[32] *mʿōrağ* would appear in this example to be a verbal noun. Some verbs of this

Another sub-category of this pattern were denominatives, e.g. *sālaf* 'to chat, tell stories', *tsōlaf* 'to have a chat, exchange stories' (< *sālfa* 'matter, affair'), *gōṣad* 'to make up poems, extemporise poetry' (< *gaṣīda* 'poem'), *dōbar* 'to make plans, dream up strategems' (< *dabra* 'ruse, solution to a problem'), *fōšar* 'to brag, tell tall stories' (< *fšār* 'exaggeration, boast'). In all these verbs, there is an idea of drawn-out, extended episodes of speech or thought, sometimes (as with *fōšar*) with pejorative connotations. A similar durative (and belittling) sense attends to 'action' verbs like *dōbaš* and *ġōfaǧ*, both terms used by village farmers to mean 'to run around doing odd jobs here and there', akin to the colloquial English 'potter about', and the verb *xōmaš* 'to [finally] obtain by fair means or foul', or more colloquially, 'fiddle, scrounge, filch'.[33] A similar modifying effect can be observed in the root *ṣ-r-x*: while *ṣarax* is simply 'to shout, scream', *ṣōrax* means 'to (persistently) nag, hector, whine',[34] as in:

(24) *yiṣōrix ʿala l-bēza*
'He [= child] [keeps on] **nagging and whining** for money'

The verb *ṭōrab*[35] 'to dance the *trēnbo*', is another interesting example of this verb type. In Shīʿī communities, the *trēnbo* was formerly a long drawn-out dancing and singing routine performed by four women around the bride when she was being prepared for her wedding, and at various points and during the wedding celebrations. The verb *ṭōrab* is apparently a development of *ṭarab* 'delight, happiness, rapture', particularly when produced by music or a singer (*muṭrib*).

Several verbs in this category have alternative forms with *ā* instead of *ō* where the meaning is the same or very similar, e.g. *ṣārax* as well as *ṣōrax*, *dābaš* (and *dābač*) for *dōbaš*, *sālaf* for *sōlaf*, and *ġāfaǧ* which has virtually the same sense as *ġōfaǧ*. This is possibly to be explained by contamination: in quite a number of other roots the regular Themes III and VI (i.e. (*t*)*CāCaC*) have the same extensive/intensive senses as (*t*)*CōCaC* verbs, e.g. *šārad* 'to disperse in large

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form (see below) are variants in form of Theme III, and from their verbal nouns in the same way = *mCōCaC* (regular Theme III pattern *mCāCaC*).

[33] Sowayan (1992:263) gives *xamaš* 'to grab, snatch' for Najd, and Reinhardt (1894:289) *xumš* 'a handful' for Oman.

[34] Cf. also Al-Ṭājir (1982:82) *xōzar* 'to stare fixedly at', compared with CLA *xazara* 'to wink the eyes' (I did not record *xōzar*, and *xazar* only in the technical nautical sense of 'to take down a ship's mast').

[35] Alternative pronunciations are *tōrab* and *tērab*.

numbers', *rākaḍ* 'run around all over the place', *ṭārad* 'chase around, run about', *ḥāfaz* 'to push and shove', *rāmaḥ* 'to kick and lash out', *tṣāyaḥ* 'to weep and wail (as a group)', as in the following examples:

(25) *yičaddib ʿaliyyi l-muʿallim baʿad u aṭārid warāh*
'And as well as that, the [driving] instructor gives me false appointments, and I have to **go running around** after him'

(26) *mā yiʿabrūn yišīlūnha min l-əmḥāfaz u l-əmrāmaḥ*
'They were unable to pick her up [= bride, being delivered to her husband] because of all her **pushing, shoving and kicking**'

4.2 *2 = y*

Verbs in this category are denominatives based on Arabic adjectives, and are most frequently encountered in the derived *t*1234 form. They mostly describe mental and bodily states, often with pejorative overtones of pretence, e.g. *tmēraḍ* 'to malinger, feign illness', *tṣēmax* 'to pretend to be deaf',[36] *tḥēraṣ* 'to act in a mean, parsimonious manner' (cf. *ḥāras* 'to reserve, keep something back for someone', as in *aḥārisk il-gahwa* 'I'll keep some coffee for you'), *tbēxal* 'to become stingy', *thēbal* 'to act as if stupid', *tkēsal* 'to back-slide, laze about', *tmēṣax* 'to insult obscenely, talk dirty' (cf. *māṣūxa* 'obscene language'), *tfēḍal* 'to pick one's nose'. However, there are also verbs of this form which, whilst not describing bodily or mental states, are semantically similar in that they describe actions which affect the outward appearance of the agent, e.g. (*t*)*dēram* 'to apply lipstick [to oneself]',[37] and *twēzar* 'to wear, put on a *wzār* [a sarong-like garment]'.[38] In a few cases the denominative verb is based on a borrowing which already had *y* in the position of consonant 2, e.g. *nēšan* 'to mark out, distinguish' < Persian *nēšān* 'mark'.

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[36] These forms are similar to a sub-category of 'stative' CLA Theme VI verbs such as *taʿāmā* 'to feign blindness', *tağāhala* 'feign ignorance', *taʿāraǧa* 'to pretend to be lame'.

[37] *(t)dōram* is a variant. Al-Ṭājir (1982:65) gives *middōrma* 'lip-pigmented [of a woman]'.

[38] Al-Ṭājir (1982:84) notes a verb of this type with *ō* rather then *ē: tdōlaġ* 'to wear socks (*dlāġ*)'.

4.3 *2 = r, l, or n*

Several verbs in this category appear to be clear instances of insertion into a triliteral root, e.g. *šarbak* 'to ensnare' and *tšarbak* 'to get ensnared, ensnare oneself' (< *šabak* 'net'):

(27) *itnaggid ilēn titšarbak wiyya rǧūlha*
'It [= pigeon] pecks [at the seed] until its legs **get caught** [in the net]'

xarbaṭ 'to mess up, muddle up' and *txarbaṭ* 'to get confused, muddled'[39] (< *xabaṭ* 'to beat, strike')[40]

(28) *il-awwal il-wāḥid kān yitxarbaṭ, fi ḏ-ḏalām, yaʿni mā yiʿruf yiktib ismǝh*
'In the old days, people were **in a mess**, in the dark, not knowing how to write their own name'

sarhad 'to nod off, fall asleep' (< *sahda* 'quiet, silence')[41]

(29) *šribǝh u sarhad*
'[The child] drank it and **nodded off**'

darʿam 'barge in, push through [a crowd]' (< *daʿam* 'to collide with')

(30) *darʿam abūy fi ġafla*
'My father **came bursting in** [on me] unexpectedly'

rangaṭ 'to make a chequered pattern'[42] (cf. CLA *raqqaṭa* 'to speckle, spot; *ruqṭa* 'white and black spots')

(31) *ġuṭra mrangaṭa*
'a **chequered** head-cloth'

tḥanda 'to complain, moan and groan' (< (?) CLA *ḥada* 'to urge on, goad')

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[39] The verbs *laxbaṭ* and *tlaxbaṭ* have similar meanings in the Gulf dialects (and in Yemen), and appear to have arisen from the same source, in this case via *l* insertion and metathesis, viz *xabaṭ* > *xalbaṭ* > *laxbaṭ*.

[40] Not recorded in Baḥrayn in this form, but common in many Arabic dialects and in CLA.

[41] In CLA this root has the opposite meaning, of 'sleeplessness, wakefulness'.

[42] For the southern Gulf, Ḥanẓal (1978:56) gives *mrangaṭ* 'spotted', and for Oman Brockett (1985:113) gives *muranqaṭ* 'dappled' and Reinhardt (1894:253) *tranqaṭ* 'to be many coloured'.

(32) *yitimm sāʿa yitḥanda*
'He would carry on **moaning and groaning** for an hour'

There were a number of other verbs which fit this pattern, many of them occurring in the same or similar form in other parts of the region, but which do not seem to be the result either of consonant insertion, or denominative derivation,[43] e.g. *ṭarbag* 'to skive, backslide', *ṭargaʿ* 'to crack, pop, jump about' and *tgarṭaʿ* 'to crack, pop, burst',[44] *tʿarzam* 'to be stunted in growth',[45] *čandas* 'to bow the head, lean over',[46] *fandas* 'to grab handfuls [of food]',[47] *sandar* 'to vex, annoy',[48] *ġandam* 'to frown, look worried',[49] *tṭangar* 'to sulk'.

The manifold difficulties which can attend tracing the etymology of quadriliteral verbs is illustrated by another in this category, *karfas/čarfas* which in Baḥrayn and the southern Gulf means 'to knock to the ground' but in Najd means 'to crumple up, crease'.[50] *Prima facie*, the Najdi meaning looks like a plausible extension of the meaning of CLA *karfasa* 'to walk with a limp' itself apparently a secondary derivation from *kafisa* 'to have crooked feet'. These CLA meanings would also seem to lie at the origin of the Gulf equivalent of Najdi

[43] On the other hand, denominative derivation is the obvious source of *ġarbal* 'to confuse' (< *ġirbāl* 'sieve' [a means of crushing and sifting], *tbarṭam* 'to pout' (< *barṭūm* 'lip [of a camel]'.

[44] Woodhead & Beene (1967:289) also note *ṭargaʿ* in the sense 'to clatter, bang' for Baghdad. In Baḥrayn, *ṭargaʿ* was used to describe the 'popping and jumping' of coffee beans being roasted in a pan, and *tgarṭa* the 'popping' of a vein after manipulation by a traditional doctor. One verb may simply be a metathesis of the other.

[45] The participle *mitʿarzim*, which in the context I recorded seemed to mean 'stunted' was used to describe the poor growth of radishes. Fleisch (1979:437) notes the phonetically similar *muʿağram* 'knotty [of, e.g. a branch]' for CLA, which he regards as a denominative of *ʿuğruma* 'type of large spiny tree with knots'.

[46] Sowayan (1992:294) notes *kanhas* with the similar sense of 'to stoop, lower one's head [to avoid being seen]' for Najd.

[47] The noun *findūs* 'handful of food squeezed into a ball', from which the verb is possibly derived, is also noted for Kuwayt in al-Ḥanafī (1964:282) and Dalīšī (1968:24) for Basra. The word may be a variant of CLA *findīr* 'lump of dates'.

[48] Recorded by Ingham (1994:179) with the same meaning for Najd, and by Ḥanẓal (1978:306) for the southern Gulf, where it is used especially in the context of someone annoying his listeners by excessive talking. Ḥanẓal claims a CLA origin: *sandara* 'large measure'.

[49] Ingham (1994:182) gives *muġaldim* 'upset, unhappy, sulking' for Najd, with *l* for Baḥraynī *n*, and with a similar set of homorganic consonants juggled, Abu-Haidar (1991:53) notes *ḍalġam* 'to frown' for Christian Baghdadi. All these words would seem to have a common origin.

[50] Ḥanẓal (1978:508) for the southern Gulf, Ingham (1994:83) for Najd. Ingham also gives the synonyms *karbat* and *karfağ*.

karfas, which is *kaffas* 'to bend over, crease, fold over'. But what is the origin of Gulf *karfas/čarfas* 'to knock to the ground'? One possibility is to view it as the result of the dissimilation of the doubled consonant in dialectal *kaffas* 'to bend over, crease, fold over'.[51] However, there also exists a CLA verb *ǧarfasa* 'to throw, knock to the ground'[52] with exactly the meaning of *karfas/čarfas* in the Gulf dialects. So is this the origin of the dialectal form? Are we dealing here with a phonetic shift—albeit an unusual and ad hoc one, as CLA *ǧ* does not normally have *k/č* as a reflex in Gulf Arabic? Or is Gulf *karfas/čarfas* a case of the contamination of two roots? In CLA one also notes *karfata* 'to drop', and in dialects as far removed from one another as southern Yemen and Christian Baghdadi, there is a successor form *karfat* meaning 'to dump, throw down from above'. Could then Gulf *karfas/čarfas* be historically the result of a *contamination* of CLA *ǧarfasa* (or rather a (now lost) successor dialectal form of it, **ǧarfas*), and *karfat*, to give *karfas* (and later *čarfas* by affrication of the *k* in those dialects, like Baḥrayn, which underwent it)? It is impossible to answer such questions with certainty, but this looks like a more phonetically plausible explanation than attempting to derive *karfas/čarfas* directly from CLA *ǧarfasa*, or proposing dissimilation from dialectal *kaffas*, given the very different meanings of *kaffas* and *karfas/čarfas* in the Gulf dialects.

5. *1234 in which 3 = w*

This is a small group of verbs, of various morphological origins. In the case of two verbs, *hağwal* 'get rid of, throw out' and *daʿwal* 'to throw away' which were used only in certain Shīʿī villages, one possible explanation of their origin is that they are delocutive *naḥt* formations somewhat similar to CLA examples like *ḥawqala, hallala, ḥayʿala*, in this case possibly formed from imperatives:

daʿ 'leave [it]!' + *wall* 'go away!' → *daʿwal* 'throw away' (cf. English 'leave go')

[51] Dissimilation of the doubled consonants in Theme II verbs is put forward by Fleisch (1979:428–430) as the possible source of some CLA quadriliterals, in all of which the result is an *r, l,* or *n* in place of the first of the doubled consonants.

[52] Fleisch (1979:444) derives this from CLA *ǧarafa* 'to sweep away, shovel away' by the addition of an *s* as radical 4.

as in the example:

(33) *čān mā daʿwalōh, nistaʿmil hādāk*

'If they hadn't **thrown it away**, we'd have used it'

hağ < *hiğğ* 'leave!' + *wall* 'go away!' → *hağwal* 'get rid of, throw out'

as in the example:

(34) *istamallētūn minnəh u hağwaltūnəh*

'You got fed up with him and **threw him out** [into the street]'

In the case of *hağwal*, there is an alternative possibility for its derivation: *haǧǧal* is a synonym used in the same dialects, which might lead one to suppose that the two forms arose as variant ways of 'strengthening' an original simpler form, CLA *hağala* 'to throw [a stick]'.[53] Other forms of this type recorded were *tnagwaš* 'to quiver, show signs of life', *tnahwaṣ* 'to cry, sob'[54] (in the expression *dazzni atinahwaṣ* 'cry baby', literally 'push me, I'll cry') and *tṣarwaʿ* 'to be thunderstruck, have the jitters'. The first of these verbs has a dialect (and CLA) synonym *naġaš*, which suggests that the inserted *w*, as was suggested for *hağwal*, might be a 'strengthening' of the verb for descriptive effect. The verb *tnahwaṣ* again looks like an elaborated form of a triliteral: compare CLA *nahaša* 'to tear the face with grief'. The verb *tṣarwaʿ* was used to describe someone being woken up in the middle of the night by a groaning noise and getting up to investigate feeling *mitṣarwiʿ* 'scared stiff, having the jitters'. This seems to be a metaphorical denominative from *ṣarʿ* 'epileptic fit'.

6. *Other types of form*

Examples have already been given in the exposition above of denominative verbs which fall into the quadriliteral categories in which 1234 are all different, and which were not derived from triliteral roots by reduplication and affixation. There are a couple of other categories which deserve mention for what they suggest about the

[53] This explanation of the insertion of *w* is the same as that advanced by Fleisch (1979:434) to explain the CLA verbs of this form, such as *harwala*: "pour effectuer un renforcement". The doubling of the second radical, as we have already noted, is another common means in the dialects of giving an extensive or intensive amplification to the meaning of triliteral Theme I.

[54] Cf. Landberg (1920–1942:2826) *tanhūsa* 'sigh' for southern Yemen.

ways in which quadriliterals can arise. One is via the blending of triliteral roots which have a similar meaning, which is also traditionally claimed to be one source of CLA quadriliterals. Most languages can furnish examples of blends: in English, for example 'smog' is a blend of 'smoke' and 'fog', 'motel' of 'motor' and 'hotel', 'Chunnel' of 'Channel tunnel'. Such words can be a kind of shorthand abbreviation, like 'Chunnel' or denote a novel concept, like 'motel'. CLA had many such formations in the 'shorthand abbreviation' category, such as *basmala*, and I have already suggested that *hağwal* and *daʿwal* may be examples of dialectal 'blends'.[55] The verbs *saḥlab* 'to drag' and *kaḥlaf* 'to dry out' may be examples of the coalescence of separate roots.

The first of these verbs, in the example:

(35) *saḥlabt il-mišṭ ʿala rāsi*

'I **dragged** the comb through my hair'

seems to be a combination of the roots *s-ḥ-l* and *s-ḥ-b*. One of the senses of *s-ḥ-l* in CLA is 'to scrape, pare, peel', and in Baḥraynī Arabic *siḥa* has the sense 'to become smoothed, flattened down; *saḥab* in virtually all varieties of Arabic is 'to pull, drag'. The verb *saḥlab* precisely conveys a combination of these semantic elements: in the example, the man was combing and flattening his hair, and in other ways sprucing himself up before meeting the parents of a prospective bride.

The verb *kaḥlaf* occurred in one Shīʿī farmer's description of another's land 'drying out' and being useless for cultivation. In the farmer's village dialect, *k* is the normal reflex of CLA *q*. Landberg (1920–1942:2522) notes *qalhaf* 'to dry out' for southern Yemen. In CLA one notes the following verbs: *qahafa* 'to drink all of', *qaḥila* 'to become dry, arid', and *qahala* 'to become dry [hide]'. On the face of it, the Baḥraynī and Yemeni forms *kaḥlaf* and *qalhaf* look like phonetic variants (with metathesis of consonants 2 and 3), with both seemingly involving a blend of the elements and meanings of the triliteral CLA verbs as noted in the lexica. The metaphor of the land 'drinking' (*yišrab*) (i.e. being irrigated from) a source of water is normal parlance among present-day Baḥraynī farmers, and perhaps

[55] Another, a Theme II verb, is *ḥaggal* which in the village Shīʿī dialects means 'to get, obtain'. This appears to be a blend of *ḥaṣṣal* 'to get, obtain' and *ḥagg* 'right, due, property'.

helps explain how a verb like *qahafa* 'to drink all of' might (historically) have contributed to the formation of *kaḥlaf/qalhaf*.

Finally, an interesting morphological puzzle. The verb *tinafrag* means 'to be scattered, dispersed, split up' as in the following example:

(36) *sāknīn iḥna killəh mitkatlīn fi mukān, mu mitnafragīn*
'We live all together in the same place, not **scattered** (in different places).'

Formally, we seem to have a derived quadriliteral based on the root consonants *n-f-r-g*. The semantic connection with the root *f-r-g* is obvious, and *tfarrag* and *tifārag*, regular Theme V and VI formations respectively, also exist in the dialect, with similar meanings to *tinafrag*. So whence the *n*? In the dialects of the Gulf and Najd, a striking morphological innovation has been the prefixing of the passivising *n-* not just to Theme I verbs, where it is highly productive, but to the derived Themes as well. Ingham (1994:74–75) notes for Najd forms like *yintuwaggaf* 'he is capable of being stopped' and *yintixālaṭ* 'he can be mixed with' with *n* prefixed to Theme V and VI verbs in a regular fashion with a sense of epistemic modality. I myself have noted examples of *n-* prefixed to Theme II forms in both Baḥrayn and Oman (*inʿawwar* 'to get hurt, injured', *ingaṭṭa* 'to be covered', *insawwa* 'to be done, doable').[56] One speculative explanation of *tinafrag* is that it historically involved a metathesis of the *t* and *n* which we see in the Najdi verb forms—i.e. from an original **intifarrag* 'to be divided, divisible'. By virtue of its meaning, this verb is normally predicated of plural subjects, occurring most often in 2nd and 3rd person plural forms where the doubled *r* is reduced by regular syllable-reduction rules to a single *r*, e.g. *yintifarrigūn* → *yintifargūn*. The hypothesised metathesis would have produced forms like **yitnifragūn* or **ytinifragūn*, whence by analogy with ordinary quadriliterals, the perfect form *tinafrag* might have been extracted (and thence participial forms like that in (36)). Certainly, sophisticated native speakers, when questioned, regarded *tinafrag* as being 'derived from' the root *f-r-g* without being able to say exactly how.

[56] *ista-* can also be prefixed to Theme III, e.g. *istafāham* 'to arrive at an understanding', a synonym of *tifāham*.

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TECHNICALITIES AND TERMINOLOGY OF RAIDING AND WARFARE AS REVEALED BY BEDOUIN ORAL NARRATIVES

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1. *Introduction*[1]

In the words of Sālim al-Dawwāy, a poet of the ʿAwāzim, in an interview in 1977 in Kuwayt:[2]

> [*gabul kān min hannōʿ, hāḏa miṯil gibīlah tḥādd gibīlah ʿind ḥidūdha. u hāḏa yōm aljahal gabul. walyōm ṣāram bḥamdillāh killahum šaʿab wāḥid u killahum nafs wāḥid*]
>
> 'Previously it was like this; it is as when one tribe borders on another, on their borders. And this was in the days of ignorance previously; and now they have become one people, thanks be to God, and as one soul'

References to early raiding days by those who were sometimes themselves involved, or whose parents' generation were, are often prefaced with some such disclaimer. A certain guardedness often accompanies mention of these times and recounting of the events, since the enemies referred to are often today's neighbours and colleagues. However these accounts are often very interesting and informative of the earlier period, particularly as the bedouin narrative tradition often involves graphic detailed descriptions of the main events and even of minor side issues. They are also an excellent source of dialect material and can be used as data for dialect description both in the field of structure and lexicon.

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[1] This is an expanded version of a paper of the same name read at the *International Conference on Middle Eastern Popular Culture* held at Magdalen College, Oxford, on the 17th and 21st of September 2000.

[2] This interview appears in full in Ingham (1982:120–30).

Accounts of the nature of bedouin warfare and camel raiding are available in some detail in the works of earlier western writers and particularly in the work of the Czech orientalist Alois Musil and the later English writers Glubb and Dickson. Musil's works are unusual in including quite long passages presumably dictated on the spot or noted down later from memory. These are not always totally transparent as regards phonology and morphology, but can be used with circumspection as material for dialect study. Some of his texts are also re-examined from an anthropological point of view in Meeker (1979). The works of these writers refer mainly to the early part of the 20th century and particularly to the time of the Ikhwān raids from Central Arabia. The Ikhwān were a fanatical bedouin religious movement often referred to by western governments, somewhat misleadingly, as 'Wahhabis' who raided from central Arabia against the tribes of Iraq and Kuwayt. In addition earlier writers such as Doughty, Guarmani and Burckhardt refer to warfare in the region in some detail, but do not include oral texts. Even these however can provide interesting information of use to such a study, and dialect vocabulary is often included.

More recently scholars have been able to make use of texts from the traditional oral literature of the area, recorded by modern technology, which give graphic descriptions of raids and battles and provide a wealth of incidental detail about the conditions of warfare in Arabia.

At the moment we are at an important stage with regard to the recording of this type of material. Only since about the 1970's has recording technology of one sort or another been available in the area. Previously to that also it was very difficult to have any contact with the people who knew the tradition and now that contact is much easier, the number of people surviving who have knowledge of conditions in earlier times is dwindling.

Nevertheless even today the tradition is sufficiently alive for there to be a considerable amount of material available from first hand observers or from those who were familiar with earlier conditions. In the 1980's I was able to meet people among the Āl Ẓafīr who had been on the receiving end of the Ikhwān raids in the 1920s and even after that it seems that raiding and intertribal warfare continued particularly in the Syrian desert in the 1930s and I have tape recorded accounts of these times.

The following thoughts result from an examination of stories of raiding and battle from various tribal sources, but mainly from the above mentioned Āl Ẓafīr and from the Āl Murrah and Rwalah. The texts quoted appear in Ingham (1982, 1986a, 1986b, 1995), and Musil (1928) and considerable background information was also gained by examination of Sowayan (1992).

2. *The oral tradition*

The tradition consists of stories (*suwālif*) and poems (*guṣīd*). To the modern investigator, whether Arab or foreign the stories are perhaps more interesting in being more informative, whereas to the bedouin themselves the poems are more important since they are very often more widely known and are considered to be a mark of authenticity to the story involved. It is often said of this tradition 'every poem has a story' and conversely 'every story has a poem' and this is true as the meaning of the poem is often opaque without the story which underlies it, while poems or verses of them are sometimes more memorable particularly in a society were skill in memorizing poetry is widespread. In this way the poem served as a focus and an aide-memoire for the story.

In the local tradition the leaders of bedouin tribes are referred to traditionally by a patronymic, for instance Ibn Suwayṭ of the Āl Ẓafīr or Ibn Šʿalān of the Rwalah often without the individual's given name. These references occur frequently in these accounts, which gives them a timeless quality since these clan names are still used today and thus the personalities of the different successive shaykhs are somehow rolled together into one in the person of whichever one we are referring to at the time.

The *suwālif* 'stories' mention three types of aggressive activity against other tribes. These are *ḥanšalah* 'lone horse or camel stealing', *ġazu* 'camel raiding' and *ḥarb* 'military attack, war'. *Ḥanšalah* is the activity of the unmounted raider, *ḥanšūli*, pl. *ḥanšal*, who is possessed of *ṭumaʿ* 'ambition'. The object of his exercise is to gain *cisīb* 'booty' by stealth without having to engage in combat, as he will in the nature of things be outnumbered, and then to flee the area as quickly as possible. The activity of the *ḥanšūli* is often over a short distance against a neighbouring enemy tribe. The *ġazu* on the other

hand was usually a long range operation and was lead by an *ʿaǵīd* 'commander' who would plan and organize the raid. Again it was hoped that this could be carried out without a large-scale military engagement, but this was not always possible. *Ḥarb* is all out war, the object being to defeat an enemy because of a blood feud or a perceived injury or to gain extra grazing territory.

3. *Origins of the tradition*

The tradition is old and can be supposed to have continued since the early Islamic and pre-Islamic times. It is part of the culture of the bedouin way of life, which is thought to have evolved in the early Christian era. From comparison with early Islamic sources one can conclude that the tradition of tribal organization and intertribal rivalry seems also to have continued with little change since that time. However after the earlier period of the birth of Islam in Arabia, and during the time of the Umayyads and Abbasids there is very little historical reference to conditions in Arabia, since the centres of political power had moved to the north.

The body of oral literature that we now have refers as far back as the 16th century, although reference to these earlier times is rather scant. We can infer these dates mainly by cross-reference to written Arabic sources and in some cases to non-Arabic works. The main body of extant oral literature refers to the 19th and early 20th centuries. The names of the main shaykhly ruling families have in many cases remained the same since that time and many of these also extend back further to the earlier historical period. This is important in the preservation of this tradition since in many cases it preserves the history of existing clans and supports their position. For this very reason, however, it is not always easy to obtain recorded accounts of raids and battles of the time since reference to another tribe's past defeats may cause offence.

4. *Weaponry*

The main weapons in the earlier period were the sword and the lance as typical of cavalry, whether we are talking here of the use of horse or camel. Bows were known in earlier times and early

Mesopotamian reliefs show scenes of the *Aribi* 'Arabs' mounted on camels and using bows. There is also reference to them in early Islamic texts. Ḥamzah the uncle of the prophet and Saʿd Ibn ʿAbī Waqqāṣ, one of his companions, were said to be noted archers. However there is no reference to archery at all in the bedouin tradition. Although bows were used up till at least the 19th century by the Persians and Turks, there having been Turkish archers in the Crimea and Kalmuck archers on the Russian side in the Napoleonic wars,[3] they seem to have fallen into disuse quite early in the Arabian Peninsula. It may be that the technology or material for making the advanced 'compound-bow' with horn and sinew was not available or that the bow was of less use in desert warfare. Wood is of course in short supply in Arabia.

The war club, known as *mugwār* (in Iraq) or *ganāt* among the Ẓafīr seems to have been a useful weapon when fighting on horseback and there is reference to the use of this weapon even during the *Ṯawrat al-ʿIšrīn*, the revolt of the Iraqi tribes against the British in 1920. Armour in the form of chain mail shirts is also referred to, though helmets and shields, although known, seem to have been rarely used.

Generally, however in actual combat the weapons referred to are the sword and the lance. Match lock rifles were becoming available in the area from the 18th century and these are referred to in the oral tradition as *bindig al-fitīl*.[4] Later, in the 20th century, reference to the use of modern firearms becomes more common. Various types of foreign rifles and pistols were in use and these seem to have made considerable differences to the nature of desert warfare. Stories from the earlier days however seem to indicate that rifles were not in great supply and not always reliable and that ammunition was always scarce.

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[3] Personal communication from Edward McEwen of the Society of Archer Antiquaries.

[4] *Miḥtimīn addār min yōm bindigna fitīl, min yōmha sīfin xala min yirūdha* 'We have protected the homeland from the time when our gun was the matchlock. From the time when it was an empty coast line, who [else] protected it?'. This is the same speaker as in Ingham (1982:120–30), though a slightly different version of his statement.

5. *Raiding*

Raids were executed away from one's home territory and often long range raiding was preferred since retaliation was less likely and also news of plans for the raid was less likely to reach the intended prey. On occasions raiders would by-pass neighbouring enemy tribes and raid far away from their own lands travelling at night and avoiding water holes so that no news of a passing raiding party would emerge and put people on guard.

Seeing as members of other tribes were often present in a bedouin camp as guests or wayfarers, news always travelled fast and it was almost impossible to keep news of preparation for a raid from reaching the intended target. One tactic for avoiding this was to put it about that one intended to raid a certain tribe in the north and to leave in a northerly direction then make a long circuit and come back and raid another tribe in the south. Presumably, as this was a well known tactic, nobody ever believed the initial declared intention, but equally they couldn't tell who exactly the intended target was.

Here we come to an extremely important factor in desert warfare and raiding which is intelligence or *ʿulūm* (the plural of *ʿilm* 'knowledge, news'). In a situation where people were often on the move and lived spread out over a large area, not always in touch with each other, advance knowledge of an impending raid and knowledge of the location of other tribes was essential. This *ʿulūm* 'intelligence' was brought by *ʿuyūn* literally 'eyes' meaning 'spies'. These secret or known agents were always on the lookout and were a vital element in intertribal warfare.

6. *Booty*

An important consideration in long distance raiding was how to get away with the booty if discovered. Even if the discovery was made later, the raided camp could go after the raiders on horseback. If the raiders had not got too far away and were mounted on camels, then they could be overtaken by the faster horse mounted pursuers, as in the story of the raid of the Šilgān of Šammar against the Ḥuwayṭāt (Ingham 1982:131–133). In the words of the narrator:

> [*hāḏōla aššilgān ġazwin ʿala ḥwēṭāy u baʿad mā xaḏaw albil nhajaw ilḥwēṭāy ʿala xēl u xaḏōham. xaḏōham yaʿni ʿugub maʿraktin ṭuwīlah.*]

> These were the Šilgān, a raiding party against the Ḥuwayṭāt and after they had captured the camels, the Ḥuwayṭāt pursued them on horseback and captured them, they captured them after a long battle.

The raiders, though riding long distance on camels, would often take horses with them for the actual assault so as to ensure a quick getaway, but this was not always practical on a very long distance raid, because of scarcity of water.

If caught, the raiders may have been killed, but at the least would have had their mounts and arms taken and probably also have been stripped of their clothing as in the Šilgān raid mentioned earlier (Ingham 1982:131–133):

> [*u yōm inn hum xaḏōham yā ṭuwīl alʿumur u fassuxaw ḥitta hdūmaham. mā xallaw ʿalēham hidūm.*]
>
> And when they had captured them, Oh long of life, they stripped them even of their clothes. They did not leave any clothes on them.

This taking away of the defeated enemies' clothes was not uncommon, as clothes were important booty in the earlier times when scarcity and poverty were general. Women's jewellery and clothing could also be taken as in the story of Ġayhabān of the Āl Murrah (Ingham 1986b:285).

> [*u yōm ʿawwad ʿala lbil, ʿala halih, walbil māxūḏah u ḥurmitih maslūbah . . . willāha maslūbitin ḥitta hdūmha . . . wilha nāgẓitin rāsha u kāsīha rāsha min rgubatha sātirha šʿūrha, šaʿarha*]
>
> And when he returned to the camels, to his family, [he found that] the camels had been taken and his wife had been despoiled . . . behold she was stripped even of her clothes . . . and behold she had loosened her hair and covered herself with her hair from her neck downwards, her hair had covered her.

7. *Knowledge of terrain and avoiding detection*

On a long-range raid sometimes the raiders, in order to avoid detection, would skirt around well known wells and watering places and travel through difficult unfamiliar terrain and could become short of water. Here desperate measures might be necessary for survival. The story of the raid of ʿAli bin Fāẓil of the Āl Murrah against the tribes of Oman recounts the difficulties which could occur and the skills necessary for survival (Ingham 1986b:286). A technique described

here, the technicalities of which are still unclear to me, was to make use of the water in the stomach of a camel.

> [*hāḏi giṣṣat ilʿagīd ʿali bin fāẓil mn āl murrah. marritin mn ilmarrāt ġaza mn nağrān. nāsin min jimāʿtih mn āl murrah maʿhum nāsin min yām u ġaza ʿala ḥdūd iʿmān ʿala baʿẓ ilgubāyil u axaḏ maʿih ṯlāṯin mn ilbil kbārin fissinn u xaḏāh maʿah. u baʿad mā ğā-lih ḏāk almā, asgāha māy u gaṭṭaʿ alsinatha mšān yibga lmāy dāxil bṭūnha ytarawwūn minh algōm. baʿad mā ğā-lih gāʿ mā-bhā mā, ḏabbaḥ albil wa xaḏa laḥamha min šān yiṭʿim halgōm u yāxḏūn almāy illi dāxil bṭūnha*].[5]
>
> This is the story of the commander ʿAli bin Fāẓil of the Āl Murrah. On one occasion he went on a raid from Nağrān. There were some people from his tribe the Āl Murrah and some people from Yām and he raided on the borders of Oman against some of the tribes there and he took with him three camels advanced in age and he took it [probably 'them'] with him. And when he reached a watering place, he watered them and then cut their tongues, so that the water would stay in their stomachs so that the people could drink from it. When he reached an area in which there was no water he slaughtered these camels and took their meat to feed the raiding party and they took the water that was in the stomachs of the slaughtered camels.

In this same story [Ingham 1986b:287] the hero becomes blind from an attack of *rumad* 'trachoma' during the raid, but is still able to guide his followers by feeling the earth as he is able to recognize the different types of earth and presumably vegetation along the intended route.[6]

> [*iššāyib hāḏa gaʿad ydill ʿala ḥāssat ilarẓ lann ʿindih mawhibah ʿala ḥāssat ilarẓ*]
>
> This old man began to find the way by feeling the ground because he had a gift of knowing the feel of the ground.

---

[5] Musil (1928:94, 95, 368) also mentions this use of the water from a camel's paunch, but does not mention the cutting of the tongue.

[6] I have seen something like this done in modern times under less dramatic circumstances. When travelling in the Ṣummān region of eastern Saudi Arabia in 1998, we were in difficulty finding our way back to our camp because of a sand storm which made long distance vision impossible. However our guide Rāšid al-ʿUmāni of the Āl Murrah got us back safely by periodically dismounting from the vehicle and examining the plants and soil along the route.

8. *Warfare*

Full scale war (*ḥarb*) involving *nawāx* 'battles' was usually the result of blood feuds or conflicts over grazing rights. States of emnity sometimes existed for long periods between particular tribes and equally certain tribes had long standing alliances for defence against raiding.

The declaration of war is known as *rdūd anniga* 'returning the good name'. Musil (1928:504, 506, 614) explains the underlying meaning of this usage, though it is still somewhat obscure. In his explanation, the quality of *niga* 'honesty, good name' exists between two tribes at peace (*bēnaham niga*). In order for one of them to make war on the other, they must first send back this 'good name'. To attack someone after declaration of war and not by stealth or trickery is referred to as *ʿala waẓḥ anniga* 'in plain view'. Tribes in a state of war are referred to as *bēnaham gwāmah* 'there is war or enmity between them', *gōm* being the normal word for 'enemy'. Having declared war, the attacking tribe raises the war banner *yšīl albērag* or *yrizz albērag* (Turkish *bayrak* 'flag'). The attacking force may carry out a 'dawn attack' (*ṣabbaḥ/yṣabbiḥ* 'attack at dawn'), arriving from far off under cover of night then attacking with the first daylight, thus hopefully achieving surprise.

The attacker may also descend with his whole tribe including flocks and tents on the territory of an enemy (*ṣāl/yṣūl ʿala*).[7] The leader of such a *ṣōlah* 'total mobilization' is the shaykh of the tribe and not an *ʿaǵīd* 'war leader'. The aim of this action is the invading of the territory of the enemy, not just the capture of booty. The object of this descending in force is that it brings a large force to bear who are suppliable from their own resources and also indicates an attitude of no turning back, since retreat is difficult from such a situation.

An alternative strategy is to 'encamp against the enemy' (*tanāwax*), related to *nawwax* 'to dismount'. This establishes a 'war camp' (*manāx*). The action of *nawāx* 'encamping against each other' leads to a state of tension, since the camels are hobbled to keep them all in a solid mass and cannot graze. This state of readiness can only be kept for so long and in the end one side must attack or retreat. This is apparent in the following excerpt from a description of a battle between the Rwalah and the Ǧarbā (Ingham 1995:125).

[7] According to 'Aṭiyyah aẓ-Ẓafīri *bilǧamal walladi ḥamal* 'with the camels and their burdens'.

[*yōm innih tināwax hu wiyyāhum gāl yarrwalah ḥinna (a)bāʿirna mʿaǵǵilīnaha ṯalāṯ ayyām. Bācir umma yiṭlug sibīlah yiṭilǵ(ah) alǵarbā walla ḥinna nuṭlug sibīlaha tarʿa willa yāxiḏha lǧarbā.*]

When he encamped against them, they said Oh Rwalah we will tether our camels for three more days. Tomorrow either the Ǧarbā will let them go, or we will let them go and graze. Or otherwise the Ǧarbā will take it [the land].

This *manāx* takes on in some cases the character of a mutual siege. Musil (1928:605) mentions a nine day *manāx* between the Rwalah and Bani Ṣaxr.

[*w-dāmaw ʿala hal manāx mtanāwaxīn bini ṣaxr w-ar-rwala tisʿat ayyām mnawwaxīn alkill minhum*]

Both sides thus camped for nine days in full view of each other, exchanging shots all the time.

The *manāx* between the Āl Ẓafīr and the Šarīf at ad-Dāṯ[8] (Ingham 1986a:51) in the 1600's was said to last four months and by implication led to a withdrawal by the Ẓafīr who then sought the support of the Ǵašʿam of Iraq.

When the two sides actually join battle, this is called *kōn* 'battle', the associated verbs being *tikāwan* 'to fight together' and *akān ʿala* 'to attack'. Individual combat between participants is called *ṭrād*, the related verb being *tiṭārad* 'to seek to throw each other down'.

9. *Alliances*

It was always open to a desert commander to avoid an engagement until he could form an alliance with a stronger tribe. The history of the Āl Ẓafīr who are situated between a number of powerful tribal confederations, Šammar, Bani Xālid, the Mintifiǵ and ʿAnizah, shows a bewildering succession of alliances and breaking of alliances.

In the story of the war between the Āl Ẓafīr and the Šarīf alluded to above, which dates back to the 1600s, the Ẓafīr are unable to resist the Šarīfs of the Ḥiǧāz and send a message to Ibn Ǵašʿam of Southern Iraq asking for their help. Ibn Ǵašʿam replies:

[8] Most of the localities mentioned here have been identified in the original sources, but I felt it unnecessary to do so here.

> [*ḥinna balgēẓ. mā nagdar, lākan yaṣmuṭ nafsuh lēmā yiği aṣṣfiri. lā ǧā ṣṣfiri ḥinna nafzaʿ-lu*]
>
> We are at the moment in the summer and cannot travel, but let Ibn Suwayṭ be patient until autumn. When autumn comes, we will come to his help.

In the event, the arrival of Ibn Ǵašʿam tips the scales in the favour of the Āl Ẓafīr who are able to defeat the Šarīfs. In a later event in the early 1800s they are invited to form an alliance with the Ǧarbā shaykhs of Šammar who have invaded Iraq and need help in subduing the ʿUbayd tribe who are in occupation. This they do, but then the victors fall out and another battle ensues, causing the Āl Ẓafīr to return to their old home land on the borders of Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Generally the Āl Ẓafīr are seen to be allied with their neighbours the Šammar. However at one point in the late 19th century the leaders of the Mintifiǵ of the Euphrates, by the use of bribery (*baxšīš*) prevail on Ibn Rašīd of Ḥāyil to capture Ibn Suwayṭ and hand him over to them. He captures him, but Ibn Suwayṭ is rescued in the nick of time by the other Šammar who are incensed by this betrayal and force him to set Ibn Suwayṭ free.

Occasionally extreme weather conditions would force tribes to make peace temporarily. The area of *Fayẓat al-Adyān* or *Xabrā al-Adyān* 'The Pool of Oaths' in Northern Saudi Arabia is named after just such a truce made in the 1790s between the Šammar, ʿAnizah and Ẓafīr. At the time there was no grazing in the northern desert, but only one large rain pool at that place. The three tribes decided to suspend hostilities while they were encamped by the water. They all brought their herds there, but in the event a personal feud between two Šammaris led to the abandonment of the truce, when the offending party took refuge with Ibn Suwayṭ, who refused to give him up, thus annulling the treaty. The name *Fayẓat al-Adyān* 'The Pool of Oaths' refers back to this event.

Sometimes, when one tribe's region does not have good grazing, a truce may be made with a neighbouring enemy tribe, as happened between Sulṭān ibn Suwayṭ and Ibn Haḏḏāl in the 1869s (Ingham 1986a:64). This allows the tribe to make use of good grazing which may have appeared:

> [*āl ẓufīr yōm samʿaw inn ibn haḏḏāl muṣḥib ibn swēṭ killin dawwir bhalu alʿīšah*]
>
> When the Āl Ẓafīr heard that Ibn Suwayṭ had made peace with Ibn Haḏḏāl, each man went off with his family to seek their livelihood.

10. *Battle strategy*

Essential in tribal warfare was the ability to choose whether or not to fight and to be able to pick one's ground. In this respect intelligence, *ʿulūm* brought by spies (*ʿuyūn* 'eyes'),[9] as referred to above, were essential to the desert commander. In order to avoid a superior force, a commander often resorted to trickery (*xidʿah*). The story of the war between Nāyif ibn Suwayṭ and Ibn ʿUrayʿir in the 1880s (Ingham 1986a:68–69) is a good example of this. Ibn ʿUrayʿir sends one of his men in the guise of a merchant to Ibn Suwayṭ to give false news of Ibn ʿUrayʿir.

> [*arsal-lu mandūb xidʿatin libn swēṭ*]
>
> He sent for himself a delegate to Ibn Suwayṭ as a ruse.

The idea of this is that, seeing that he was from al-Ḥasa, Ibn Suwayṭ would ask news of Ibn ʿUrayʿir as to whether he was abroad and ready to make war or not. He replies, when asked, that Ibn ʿUrayʿir is in a bad way.

> [*wallah ʿāyant ibn ʿrēʿir hāssinah ʿalēh dahar u ḥalālu muǧrib u ḥāltu šēnah*]
>
> Well I saw that this year Ibn ʿUrayʿir has suffered a drought and his herds are all ill with mange and he is in a bad condition.

Ibn Suwayṭ is suspicious and divines the truth of the matter. Realizing an attack is imminent, he orders the camp to move off, but leaves one man with a fast horse behind to keep the camp fires alight so that the attacking force would think them still there and wait till dawn to attack saying:

> [*int tagʿid balmuruḥ u tišubb annīrān ḥitta ilā ẓahar ʿalēk ibn ʿrēʿir ygūl alʿarab mā rāḥaw u lā ǧāham ʿilm niḏar*]
>
> You stay at the camp and keep the camp fires alight, so that if Ibn ʿUrayʿir comes to you, he will say [think] that the Arabs have not left and they have not received any warning.

In this way he is able to escape back to his *dīrah* in Iraq where Ibn ʿUrayʿir is unable to follow him.

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[9] These *ʿuyūn* 'spies' are to be distinguished from *ʿawāsīs* (sing. *ʿassās*) from the verb *ʿass/yiʿiss* who are scouts who look for grazing land or camp sites.

An important factor in the decision of where and when to fight is the tension between a state of war which demands that all families collect together for self-protection and the need for individual families to graze with the flocks over a wide area. When a state of war persists, people are not safe to graze far from each other and hence their flocks suffer. When in the previous story Ibn Suwayṭ is back safe in Iraq, the tribesman who executed the ruse against Ibn ʿurayʿir returns and gives the good news 'Spread out and graze, Ibn ʿurayʿir will not come to you any longer' [*sarriḥ! sarriḥ! wallah mā ʿād yiğīk ibn ʿrēʿir*].

11. *Battle tactics*

In essence bedouin engagements consisted of cavalry actions on horse or camel. In earlier times the weapons were sword and lance, the object being to 'throw down' (*yağdaʿ*) the adversary. Under these circumstances individual prowess and skill could make a great difference and many stories refer to the hero killing or unhorsing numbers of his adversaries single handed. Although some exaggeration may be involved, this was obviously not thought impossible. When one side was defeated, they fled with as little losses as possible. Later, when firearms were introduced, defensive tactics also had to be developed, since the defeated force could also lose men by being shot at by the pursuing enemy. The texts in Ingham (1995) from the Rwalah give striking instances of the technicalities of these engagements.[10]

In one story concerning the war between the Rwalah and the 'People of the North' (Ingham 1995:127) the Rwalah force becomes outmanoeuvred and small numbers of them are pursued by a greater force. Here in order to bring their fire to bear more accurately, the Rwalah couch their camels (*ynawwuxūn*) and shoot from a stationary position. This forces the enemy also to dismount, at which the Rwalah remount and flee again. This manoeuvre is repeated a number of times.

[10] In working on these texts, I had the benefit of much help from Saad Sowayan, whose experience with this type of material was invaluable.

> [*ḥinna nabi yamm alxēl winnawwux. uxwiyāna mā ẓall minhum kūd arbaʿah rcāb uxayyāl. uynawwuxūn ğibliyyina. walxēl xēlina, yūǵif minha ṣaḥan alid̲in walad xalaf u yūǵif minha muṭar ibin ṣubīḥ walbāǵyah tinīr. yōm nawwaxna ḥawwalaw ʿindina u ḥinna nifğir bhālxēl ilyāma xallēnāha tankis. uyōm axad̲na/— walxēl ğāyyah u ḥinna narkab uynawwuxūnna wḥinna narkab wiynawwuxūnna.*]
>
> We wanted to get to the horsemen. And we dismounted and of our companions there were left only four camels and a horseman and they dismounted to the south of us and of our horsemen only Ṣaḥan al-Id̲in, the son of Xalaf and Muṭar ibn Ṣubīḥ stood their ground and the rest fled. When we dismounted, they came up to us and we fired fiercely at those horsemen until we made them withdraw and in a while the horsemen were coming towards us and we rode on, but they forced us to dismount and then we mounted up again and they forced us to dismount again.

And again similarly (Ingham 1995:129) in a war with Ibn Had̲d̲āl of the ʿAmārāt:

> [*t̲awwarbahum lihum wāḥdin minna hum ʿād cat̲raw ğā yiğūn-lihum sabʿīn d̲ilūl u ḥinna hdaʿaš. hatta baʿad it̲nēn wallaw. uhum yarkubūn ʿalēna. u ḥinna ninīr uyōm ilḥaǵōna winnawwux u hum ynīrūn u yōm nāraw ḥin narkub u ninīr u hum yalḥagūnna u ḥinna nnawwux u hum ynawwuxūn. waẓrib hāk ad̲d̲ilūl uhi ṭulūʿat aṣṣigūr uhi bārcah wilyā minjaẓʿah. u ḥinna narkab u ninīr.*]
>
> One of us fired off some shots at them, but they had been joined by others. They were about seventy camel riders and we were only eleven. Another two had run away. And they rode down upon us and we fled and when they caught up with us we dismounted and they fled in turn. And when they fled we mounted up and fled and they followed us and we dismounted and then they dismounted. And I fired upon a camel coming towards us, one of the vanguard of the Ṣugūr, which was kneeling down and she fell over on one side and we mounted up and fled.

These battles which were composed of different types of forces, camel riders, horse riders and men on foot over large ares of varied terrain, and seem often to have broken up into different engagements, where people did not know whether their side was winning or defeated and small groups might surrender if outmanoeuvred. This breaking up of the battle into a number of smaller engagements is illustrated well in the story of the War with the 'People of the North' (Ingham 1995:127) where the Rwalah take up positions on small hills on which are piles of stones (*riğim* pl. *rğūm*):

> [*yōm agbalaw ʿalēna u hum yğannibūn, naḥēnāhum barrami. walxēl tarkab ʿala t̲arhum uḥinna narkab ʿala t̲ar alxēl. walxēl tiṭāwal-lak irğūm aẓẓāḥciyyah. kill*

sirba tḥawwal ibriǧim. gilna "ʿād intum", ygūlūn alʿiyāl ilbaʿaẓhum "taraw min ʿāb ʿāb ǧānbih". killin yamši ʿala riǧim walǧamʿah mā ǧat ḥāymīnin ʿalēha, aššībān walʿāybīn walxāybīn. wnarga ʿalēha, killin yarga ʿala riǧim hu wilʿiyāl illi miʿih. u killin ygawwim alli birriǧim uḥinna nḥaddirhum ʿala lǧēš]

When they came towards us, they swerved off to one side. We drove them aside by gunfire and the horsemen rode off in pursuit of them, and we rode off after the horsemen and the horsemen reached the hills of Ẓāḥciyyah, each troup of horsemen dismounted at a hill and we said "Well now" the men were saying to each other "If one man is defeated [or surrenders] all will be defeated". Each person went to a hill and the body of the men did not come hovering around it, but only the old men and weak and infirm. And we climbed up the hills, each one climbing up a hill with the people who were with him and every one took the place of the ones who were on the hill and we sent them [the enemy] down towards the camel riders.

At the end of a battle a well known hero could be besieged by the defeated enemy each trying to put themselves under his protection often to his embarassment as illustrated in the following from the war with Ibn Haḏḏāl (Ingham 1995:130).

[*alḥaghum miṯil mā gilt "yā/ . . .". anniyyah anni amnaʿham. wa lā ygūlūn lōn. gilt "yā ʿiyāl ʿind ibin šʿalān" u hum yiṭubǵūn*[11] *ʿalayy šayy bilmanʿ u šayy muhu bilmanʿ wlā xallōni āṣal alǧēš, wu hu killin yǧarrir irsānih ǧēšihum hum. alli yḥibb rikibti walli yḥibb yidi walli/—ḏāllīnin mn almawt. ḏābḥīn almayǧān ams warrwalah: "almayǧān yā ṯāyir almayǧān yā ṯāyir". "ya rǧāl yā šēnīn law hi ḏilūl agẓubha". gālaw "lā wallah law ḥayātak ʿalēha ma tagẓubha. ḥinna lā ǧannabt ʿanna ḏibiḥna". wallah wafikkuhum waʿaǵǵibhum aǧǧirīra wakittihum baššaʿīb lyā mā salmaw*]

I caught up with them saying "Oh/ . . .". My intention was to give them sanctuary" and they were standing not saying anything [i.e. 'not doing anything' possibly]. I said "Lads over here to Ibn Šaʿlān" [i.e. offering himself as a protector to the surrounded enemy] and they rushed over to me, some whom I had offered protection to and some whom I had not[12] and they didn't let me get to the camels [to claim a prize], and they were all dragging their bridles, their camels [i.e. they were riderless and easy pickings]. Some were kissing my knee, some kissing my hand and some/—[i.e. the enemy seeking protection] they were afraid of death as they had killed Mayǧān the day before

[11] *yiṭubǵūn* is from *aṭbag* 'to rush', not to be confused with *ṭabbag* 'to jump down'.
[12] Here again is a technicality of bedouin warfare which is not quite clear. Sowayan suggested it might mean 'both the ones he originally gave protection to and others who rushed over to claim it too'.

> and the Rwalah [were calling out] "Vengeance for Mayǧān. Vengeance for Mayǧān". [I said][13] "Oh wretched men, [let me get] one thing if only a riding camel that I can take" [i.e. to claim a prize]. They said "No by God, even if it is worth your life, you mustn't go and get it. If you leave us we will be killed". So anyway I rescued them and got them away behind al-Ǧarīrah and let them run off down the ravine until they were safe.

12. *Sanctuary*

An important factor, of which a graphic example occurs in the previous passage and which acted as a safety valve in this situation of unremitting aggression, was the custom of sanctuary known as *daxālah* or *manʿ*, the fugitive being known as *daxīl* or *minīʿ*. A person being pursued for vengeance could seek refuge with a well-known shaykh or other personality and be afforded sanctuary. The verb 'to give sanctuary' is *daxxal* or *adxal* 'bring in'. The point of this was to achieve a breathing space while tempers cooled, when some arrangement for compensation could be made with the offended party. The condition of this was that the sanctuary seeker should, as above, grasp the body of the intended rescuer or, if in a tent, grasp one of the centre tent poles. The rescuer will then declare that the fugitive is under his protection (*biwaǧhih* literally 'in his face', i.e. 'within the shadow of his honour'). Among one tribe, the Āl Ẓafīr, the giving of sanctuary had reached the level of an aesthetic and was symbolized by the tent of the shaykh from among the Āl Suwayṭ lineage of any period and signalled by a white square of cloth sewn on the surface of the tent above the centre pole. This tent, by a tradition going back to the incident of 'The Pool of Oaths' mentioned above on p. 127 is referred to as *al-bwayt* 'the little tent' and the ruling shaykh at any time was referred to as *rāʿi al-bwayt* 'master of the little tent'. The sanctity of the *bwayt* among the Ẓafīr led them to break the truce at the Pool of Oaths on the technicality that the fugitive sought refuge at the tent, when the shaykh of the time, Duġayyim, was not present, and that the tent was not involved in

[13] In dramatic passages it is possible, when there is an exchange of words to leave out the verb 'to say'. For further examples of this see Ingham (1993:24–25).

the truce. This action is described in the following passage from Ingham (1986a:57, 61).

> [*wila dġayyim yamm allağğah wila hu ğāy min albēt. wlawinn dġayyim ğāyak assēf bid̠rāʿu: 'wiš alʿilm?' gāl: 'wiš bēni u bēnak?' gāl: 'bēni u bēnak alli yagṭaʿ wağhak u yadxal ʿalayya aʿṭīkiyyāw'. gāl: 'hād̠a ʿindak giṭaʿ wağhi'. gāl: 'wēnu mā adillu'. gāl: 'balbwēt'. gāl: 'albwēt? albwēt mā ʿāhad. alʿahad bēni ana wiyyāk wana mā ğāni aḥad'. u yisill assēf u tiṭārad alxēl*]
>
> Then suddenly Duġayyim came to the uproar, on his way from his family. Up he came with his sword cradled in his arm: 'What has happened?' he said. Ṣufūg[14] said: 'What is our agreement?'. He said: 'Our agreement is that whoever dishonours you and comes to me for protection, I will turn him over to you'. He said: 'That man who is with you has dishonoured me'. He said: 'Where is he? I don't know which he is'. He said: 'In the little tent'. He said: 'The little tent? But the little tent did not make any agreement. The agreement is between me and you and nobody has yet come to me'. And he drew his sword and drove off the horsemen.

13. *Conclusion*

Although the state of intertribal warfare and raiding no longer exists in Arabia, there are still people who remember these days and others who, although they did not take part in these actions, have at second hand a detailed knowledge of the way they were conducted. In recent years work by scholars such as Palva, Sowayan, Rosenhouse, Kurpershoek and Stewart has produced interesting texts from different areas from Central Arabia to the Sinai Peninsula which can still be used to amplify the excellent ethnographic work of earlier writers such as Musil. However such texts as these, which describe fast moving action and numerous participants, are difficult to interpret even when the initial hurdle of the vocabulary can be surmounted by the help of specialist native speakers and by comparison with other texts. They thus still provide a challenge to the researcher.

[14] His name is not mentioned here, but is apparent from earlier in the text, Ṣufūg, the shaykh of the Ğarbā Šammar.

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JÜDISCHES, CHRISTLICHES UND MUSLIMISCHES ARABISCH IN MOSSUL

Otto Jastrow
Erlangen

1. *Einleitung*

Wer wissenschaftlich über arabische Dialekte arbeitet, hat häufig ein bestimmtes arabisches Land, das ihn besonders fasziniert und zu dem er immer wieder zurückkehrt. Für Manfred Woidich, dem dieser bescheidene Beitrag gewidmet ist, stand stets Ägypten im Zentrum seiner Arbeit. Dieser—fast möchte man sagen—Fixierung auf Ägypten, diesem über Jahrzehnte hinweg nicht nachlassenden Interesse verdankt die arabische Dialektologie Ägyptens einige ihrer besten Werke. Weitere sind, wie man weiss, in Vorbereitung, und zu ihrer Vollendung sei dem Jubilar ein langes Leben und ungebrochene Schaffenskraft gewünscht.

Für den Verfasser dieser Zeilen nimmt der Irak eine ähnlich beherrschende Stellung ein. Das tragische Schicksal dieses Landes hat es jedoch mit sich gebracht, dass ich so gut wie nie an Ort und Stelle forschen konnte, von zwei kurzen Aufenthalten in den Jahren 1968 und 1982 abgesehen, sondern nur ab und an mit ausgewanderten oder geflüchteten Bewohnern dieses unglücklichen Landes arbeiten konnte. Meine Arbeiten über diverse jüdisch-arabische Dialekte des Irak basieren auf Feldforschungen in Israel, andere Materialien von muslimischen und christlichen Irakis wurden in Deutschland gesammelt. Schliesslich hat die Faszination durch den Irak mich auch dazu gebracht, in der näheren geographischen Umgebung zu arbeiten, in der südöstlichen Türkei und in Nordostsyrien sowie, allerdings nur auf der Basis von gedruckten Quellen, über das Arabische von Uzbekistan.

Der Auslöser meiner lebenslangen Fixierung auf den Irak war die Lektüre von Haim Blancs Buch *Communal Dialects in Baghdad* (1964), das schon bald nach seinem Erscheinen in meine Hände gelangte. Dieses schmale Buch von nur 170 Seiten Text ist für mich bis heute eines der genialsten und mit Sicherheit das aufregendste Werk, das

je über arabische Dialektologie verfasst wurde. Haim Blanc entwirft darin ein Panorama der gesamten mesopotamisch-arabischen Dialektlandschaft, indem er die verfügbaren Informationen zusammenfasst, durch eigene Forschungsmaterialien ergänzt und zu der Geschichte des Zweistromlandes in Beziehung setzt. In Blancs eigenen Worten (1964:5):

> On the basis of the incomplete data furnished by the literature and by my informants, it seems possible to sketch a tentative outline of the dialect area that stretches from the Persian Gulf along and between the Tigris and Euphrates nearly up to the very sources of the two rivers on the Anatolian plateau. [. . .] Within this area one must first distinguish between two large groups of dialects, each of which shares a great number of basic features, and each of which correlates roughly with a regional subdivision and also (but even more roughly) with an ecological division. These two groups may be called (from the 1st pers. sing. of the perfect of the verb 'to say'), respectively, *qəltu*-dialects and *gələt*-dialects.[1]

Mit 'ecological division' bezieht sich Blanc auf die Unterschiede zwischen ansässiger (sedentary) und nicht-ansässiger (non-sedentary) Bevölkerung; ebenso bedeutsam ist die Unterscheidung zwischen Muslimen und Nicht-Muslimen. Darauf basierend entwirft Blanc folgendes Schema der Verteilung von *qəltu*- und *gələt*-Dialekten im mesopotamisch-arabischen Sprachraum (1964:6):

	Muslim		non-Muslim
	(non-sed.)	(sed.)	
Lower Iraq	*gələt*	*gələt*	*qəltu*
Upper Iraq	*gələt*	*qəltu*	*qəltu*
Anatolia	*gələt*	*qəltu*	*qəltu*

In Worten lässt sich die Verteilung von *qəltu*- und *gələt*-Dialekten so beschreiben, dass die nicht-ansässige (stets muslimische) Bevölkerung grundsätzlich einen *gələt*-Dialekt aufweist, die nicht-muslimische (stets ansässige) Bevölkerung grundsätzlich einen *qəltu*-Dialekt. Schwieriger

[1] Aus typographischen Gründen verwendet Blanc die Schreibung *e*, intendiert ist jedoch *ə* (vgl. 1964:183, note 4).

wird es bei der ansässigen muslimischen Bevölkerung, bei der auch herkömmliche geographische Kriterien ins Spiel kommen: Im südlichen und zentralen Irak sprechen die ansässigen Muslime *gələt*-Dialekte, im Nordirak und in Anatolien *qəltu*-Dialekte. Die Dialektgrenze verläuft nördlich von Bagdad: Während in Bagdad selbst die Muslime noch einen *gələt*-Dialekt sprechen, herrscht in dem von sunnitischen Muslimen bewohnten Tikrit bereits ein *qəltu*-Dialekt.[2] In Mossul schliesslich, das uns im folgenden noch beschäftigen soll, sind alle drei Religionsgemeinschaften vertreten und sprechen jeweils einen *qəltu*-Dialekt.[3]

Blancs historische Erklärung dieser komplizierten Dialektverteilung ist bis heute faszinierend zu lesen (1964:160ff. "Summary and conclusion", insbesondere 1964:168ff. "A glance at Iraqi history") und braucht hier nicht im einzelnen rekapituliert zu werden. Im Grundsatz besagt seine Deutung, dass es sich bei den *qəltu*-Dialekten um die Fortsetzung der mittelalterlichen irakischen Volkssprache (von der Abbasidenzeit bis zu den Mongoleneinfällen) handelt, während die *gələt*-Dialekte nach den Mongoleneinfällen in den Irak eindrangen, und zwar zunächst durch Rebeduinisierung des ländlichen Süd- und Mitteliraks mit folgender Ansässigwerdung, sodann durch einen Zustrom ländlicher Bevölkerung in die Städte zur Zeit der Osmanischen Herrschaft.

Die komplexe sprachliche Situation des gesamten mesopotamisch-arabischen Gebiets spiegelt sich beispielhaft in den sprachlichen Verhältnissen der Stadt Bagdad, deren Beschreibung den Hauptteil von Blancs Werk ausmacht. Das Einzigartige der Bagdader Situation wird von Blanc (1964:3) wie folgt definiert:

> The basic feature of this situation is the unusually profound and sharply delineated dialectal cleavage that divides these populations[4] into three nonregional dialect groups, corresponding to the three major religious communities, namely the Muslims, the Jews and the Christians.

[2] Vgl. Jastrow (1983).

[3] Diese Fakten waren Blanc bekannt, vgl. (1964:10).

[4] D.h. der Bevölkerung von Bagdad sowie der weiter südlich gelegenen Städte Basra und Amara, für die laut Blanc (1964:10) eine vergleichbare Situation gilt; die Verhältnisse im Südirak spielen jedoch in der weiteren Darstellung, die sich ganz auf Bagdad konzentriert, keine Rolle mehr.

Diese Dialekte, die nicht nach geographischen, sondern nach soziologischen Kriterien verteilt sind, nennt Blanc in seinem Buch (und bereits so im Titel) *communal dialects*, d.h. Dialekte, die mit den Religionsgemeinschaften (*religious communities*) korrelieren. Blancs Ergebnisse zu Bagdad lassen sich wie folgt zusammenfassen: Juden und Christen sprechen jeweils einen *qəltu*-Dialekt, die Muslime dagegen einen *gələt*-Dialekt. Obwohl beides *qəltu*-Dialekte, unterscheiden sich *Jewish Baghdadi* (J) und *Christian Baghdadi* (C) jedoch erheblich voneinander. Blanc (1964:166) stellt fest, dass C insgesamt einen nördlicheren Charakter hat und sich in einigen Punkten mit Mossul berührt, während J einzigartig (*unique*) ist: "Within the *qəltu* group, there is no dialect so far investigated that bears a particularly close relationship to J".

Diese Darstellung kann man inzwischen soweit relativieren, dass einige besonders auffällige Merkmale von J eine Entsprechung im Dialekt von Tikrit finden, z.B. die Elision von *a* in unbetonter offener Silbe (*ktabtu* 'ich schrieb', *katbu* 'sie schrieben') sowie seine Reduktion zu *ə* in unbetonter geschlossener Silbe (*fathət* 'sie öffnete', *fəthə́tu* 'sie öffnete es'), ferner die ungewöhnliche Umgestaltung der Flexionsendungen des starken Verbums nach der Analogie des Verbums tertiae infirmae (*ykətbōn* 'sie schreiben', analog zu *yənsōn* 'sie vergessen').[5] In Jastrow (1983) habe ich gezeigt, dass der Dialekt von Tikrit das gleiche Merkmal aufweist, wobei allerdings die Diphthone *ay* und *aw* noch erhalten sind, z.B. *ykətbawn* 'sie schreiben'.

Der muslimische Dialekt von Bagdad (M) unterscheidet sich seinerseits wiederum von den dörflichen *gələt*-Dialekten des südlichen Irak, z.B. durch die Aufgabe der Genusdifferenzierung im Plural von Pronomina und Verbum sowie durch eine geringere Häufigkeit der Affrizierung von *k* > *č* und (*q* >) *g* > *ǧ*. Dies passt in Blancs Deutung der irakischen Sprachgeschichte, die auf Bagdad bezogen besagt, dass die Muslime von Bagdad unter Osmanischer Herrschaft durch einen starken Bevölkerungszuzug aus ländlichen Gebieten sprachlich überformt wurden und den *qəltu*-Dialekt, den sie mit Sicherheit noch im 14. Jhd. sprachen, zugunsten eines *gələt*-Dialekts aufgaben; dieser ist

[5] Die grosse Mehrheit der neuarabischen Dialekte hat umgekehrt die Verba tertiae infirmae an das starke Verbum angepasst, z.B. Muslimisch-Bagdadisch *ykitbūn* 'sie schreiben' und analog dazu *yinsūn* 'sie vergessen'.

jedoch nicht mit den ländlichen Dialekten identisch, sondern hat in den genannten Merkmalen und anderen noch städtische Züge bewahrt. Juden und Christen blieben von dem Bevölkerungszuwachs sprachlich unberührt, da sie nur innerhalb der eigenen Religionsgemeinschaft heirateten und gesellschaftlich weitgehend abgeschottet lebten. Während Blanc bei den Christen einen gewissen Zuzug von Glaubensgenossen aus dem Norden für möglich hält, vertritt er die Meinung, dass die Juden keinen nennenswerten Zuwachs von ausserhalb erfahren haben.

2. *Der Dialekt von Mossul*

Die drittgrösste Stadt des Irak, das ca. 300 km nördlich von Bagdad gleichfalls am Tigris gelegene Mossul, weist neben der muslimischen auch alteingesessene christliche und jüdische Gemeinden auf.[6] Wie in Bagdad haben alle drei Religionsgemeinschaften Arabisch als Muttersprache,[7] anders als dort gibt es jedoch nicht die Spaltung in *qəltu-* und *gələt*-Dialekte; vielmehr sprechen alle drei Religionsgemeinschaften einen *qəltu*-Dialekt. Dies war Blanc bereits bekannt, und er formuliert den Sachverhalt mit der ihm eigenen lakonischen Präzision (1964:10):

> From informants and from the literature (13) it is clear that members of all communities in Mosul speak a *qəltu*-dialect, as do those of ʿĀna and (probably) those of Tekrīt and Hīt. There are unquestionably subdialectal differences within those cities (my Jewish informant from Mosul happens to have a number of features different from my Christian and Muslim Mosul informants), but these may not correlate with communal affiliation. Informants and literature (see note 13) attribute these differences to quarters within the city and to other variables (age, degree of education or modernization, ultimate provenience from some neighboring town). Though minor differences correlating with communal affiliation may nevertheless exist, the situation is at all events quite different from that of Baghdad and Lower Iraq.

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[6] Bzw. wies auf, denn aus Mossul wie aus dem ganzen Irak emigrierten die Juden in den Jahren 1950/1 nach Israel (vgl. Jastrow 1990b).

[7] In diesem Zusammenhang können wir die nicht arabisch sprechenden Gruppen wie etwa die verschiedenen aramäisch-sprachigen christlichen Gemeinden unbeachtet lassen.

Die von Blanc innerhalb dieses Zitats zweimal zitierte Fussnote 13 geht noch etwas weiter ins Detail; sie hat folgenden Wortlaut:

> This is based on statements by my informants, all of whom were quite conversant with the Baghdad situation and all of whom stated that differentiation does not run along communal lines in Mosul. The fact that my Jewish and Christian Mosul informants say e.g. *hōnək* 'there' whereas my Muslim informants say *hnūka* or that my Jewish informant has *e* rather than *i* in the feminine ending of such words as *bäzzūne* (non-Jewish informants: *bäzzūni*) raises a question which I cannot answer, viz. how far these differences actually correlate with communal affiliation. . . . .

Zu dem Zeitpunkt, als Blanc diese Zeilen schrieb, gab es keine publizierten Texte aus Mossul, durch deren Auswertung man seine Einschätzung hätte verifizieren können. Die einzige Ausnahme bildeten die von Albert Socin (1882–1883) in seinem Artikel "Der arabische Dialekt von Mosul und Märdin" achtzig Jahre zuvor veröffentlichten Texproben; die genaue Provenienz dieser Texte war jedoch unklar. Jedenfalls existierten keine zeitgenössischen Texte, schon gar nicht solche, die eindeutig die Sprachform einer der drei Religionsgemeinschaften repräsentierten. Im Laufe der Jahrzehnte ist es dem Schreiber dieser Zeilen gelungen, nach und nach diese Lücke notdürftig zu schliessen. Dank der Mitarbeit einer älteren muslimischen Dame, die sich besuchsweise in Deutschland aufhielt, konnte ich 1979 Texte im Dialekt der Muslime von Mossul mit einer Dialektskizze veröffentlichen. Ab Mitte der 80er Jahre führte ich mehrere Feldforschungskampagnen in Israel durch, um die noch greifbaren Dialekte der irakischen Juden zu dokumentieren (vgl. Jastrow 1990b). Dabei konnte auch der Dialekt der Juden von Mossul erstmals genauer untersucht werden (Jastrow 1989a); dieser Artikel enthält auch einen kurzen Text über die Herstellung von *kəbbe*. Ein längerer Text über Brotbacken erschien 1991a, einige Schwänke im Dialekt der Juden von Mossul veröffentlichte ich 2001. Im letzten Teil des vorliegenden Artikels kann ich nun erstmals einen christlich-arabischen Text aus Mossul vorstellen, den ich im Jahr 2000 von einer etwa fünzigjährigen Frau aufgenommen habe, die als Asylsuchende nach Deutschland gekommen war. Einzelheiten über die Sprecherin kann ich nicht mitteilen, um ihre Sicherheit nicht zu gefährden. Aus dem gleichen Grunde wurden einige deutsche Ortsangaben durch xxx unkenntlich gemacht; der beunruhigende Mittelteil des Berichts, in dem die Sprecherin anschaulich ihre

Probleme im Irak schilderte, musste ganz übersprungen werden. Der Schlussteil der Aufnahme beschreibt die Zubereitung einiger volkstümlicher Gerichte und eignet sich dadurch besonders zum Vergleich mit den früher veröffentlichten jüdischen und muslimischen Texten. Da ich keine Gelegenheit hatte, mit der Sprecherin die Aufnahme nochmals durchzugehen, enthält der Text einige lexikalische Unklarheiten, die in der deutschen Übersetzung mit [?] gekennzeichnet sind.

3. *Communal dialects in Mossul*

Wenn man das im vorhergehenden Abschnitt aufgezähle Textmaterial, also die in der Zwischenzeit veröffentlichten Texte im muslimischen, jüdischen und christlichen Dialekt von Mossul vergleichend durchsieht, drängt sich der Eindruck auf, dass Blanc vielleicht etwas zu vorsichtig war, wenn er jede Aussage zur internen Differenzierung der *communal dialects* von Mossul ablehnte. Natürlich stand Blanc—und ebenso die von ihm befragten einheimischen Informanten—ganz unter dem Eindruck der vom ihm so treffend bezeichneten *unusually profound and sharply delineated dialectal cleavage*, durch die die Situation in Bagdad charakterisiert ist. Verglichen damit müssen in der Tat alle innerhalb der drei *communal dialects* von Mossul auftretenden Unterschiede als minimal erscheinen, umso mehr als alle drei eindeutig *qəltu*-Dialekte sind. Dass dennoch gewisse Divergenzen zu beobachten sind, bezeugt ja schon die oben unter 2. zitierte Textpassage mit ihrer zugehörigen Fussnote. In meinem Aufsatz *Notes on Jewish Maṣlāwi*, der 1989 in einem Haim Blanc gewidmeten *memorial volume* erschien, habe ich es unternommen, einige Unterschiede zwischen dem jüdischen und dem muslimischen Dialekt von Mossul aufzuzeigen, die m. E. systematischen Charakter haben. Dabei zeigte sich auch, dass der jüdische Dialekt einen insgesamt etwas 'nördlicheren' Charakter hat, da er in den Punkten, in denen er vom muslimischen Dialekt abweicht, mit den anatolischen *qəltu*-Dialekten übereinstimmt. Der eigenständige Charakter des Jüdisch-Maṣlāwi dürfte aufgrund der in Jastrow (1989a) präsentierten Data nicht mehr ernsthaft bezweifelt werden. Wie aber steht es nun mit dem christlichen Dialekt? Bei aller gebotenen Vorsicht angesichts einer einzigen Tonbandaufnahme von einer einzelnen Informantin lassen sich doch gewisse Beobachtungen machen, die sich vielleicht in Zukunft durch weitere

Data erhärten lassen. So ist deutlich, dass in den Punkten, in denen der muslimische und der jüdische Dialekt divergieren, der christliche Dialekt, soweit belegt, mit dem muslimischen zusammengeht.[8] Zwei Punkte lassen sich aus dem Text gut dokumentieren:

a) die *ʾimāla* folgt dem irakischen, nicht dem anatolischen Modell:

Jüdisch-M	Muslimisch-M	Christlich-M	
ṯamēnīn	*ṯamīnīn*	*ṯamīnīn*	achtzig

b) ebenso folgt auch der Vokal der Femininendung dem irakischen, nicht dem anatolischen Modell:

Jüdisch-M	Muslimisch-M	Christlich-M	
kəbbe	*kəbbi*	*kəbbi*	Kibbe

Auch wenn diese Beobachtungen noch durch weitere Materialien zu erhärten sind und vielleicht auch ergänzt werden können, ist die grössere Nähe der christlichen zur muslimischen Varietät bereits evident. Ob sich—abgesehen vom religionsspezifischen Wortschatz—überhaupt eindeutige Divergenzen zwischen Christlich- und Muslimisch-Maṣlāwi werden etablieren lassen, bleibt als Frage für die Zukunft. Der jüdische Dialekt von Mossul ist jedenfalls in seiner Sonderstellung bestätigt.

4. *Text im Dialekt der Christen von Mossul*

1. *ana kəntu qabəl aštə́ġəl xayyāṭa, bass qafa ma ṣārli aṯfāl, baṭṭaltu. qəʿədtu ṣərtu ṛabbət bēt. w alḥamdu lillāh kənna yaʿni ḥālətna malīḥa yaʿni mā məḥtāǧīn ayy šē.* [. . .] **2.** *qəmna, yaʿni ḏ̣ḏ̣urūf ṣārət ṣaʿbi ʿalēna, mā baqa nṭēq nəstaḥməl. qəmna, ṭalaʿna. naʿam. axaḏna wlādna w ṭalaʿna.* **3.** [. . .] *wṣəlna ʾAlmānya, ana w əbni, hāḏa ləzġayyəġ, w bənti maʿāyi. baʿd mā wəṣəl zōǧi w əbni ləkbīġ.* **4.** *wṣəlna ʾAlmānya,* [. . .] *nzəlna mən əššāḥina mšīna, hākəḏ masāfa, ġēna sīyāra xaḏ̣ġā hōnak, qənnāləm, xabbrūnna əlpōlīs, yaʿni nəḥna mā nəʿġəf luġa almānī.* **5.** *xābaru ǧā . . ., sīyārt əlpōlīs ǧətt ʿalēna, ḏ̣ābiṭa maʿānu, ḏ̣ābiṭ, saʾalna, qām yəḥki maʿāna bəlʾənglīzi, wlādi yəʿġəfūn ənglīzi bənti w əbni ḥako maʿānu,* **6.** *qalləm əntəm mnēn? qālu nəḥna ʿirāqīyīn, qālu šimāl?, qəttūlu laʾ nəḥna mən əlMōṣəl w ʿarab. qāl tfaḏ̣ḏ̣alu maʿāna, w ṭalaʿna maʿāhəm.* **7.**

[8] Wir folgen hier der Reihenfolge in Jastrow (1989a:285 ff.).

ġəḥna waddōna ʿal-markaz, axaḏu aqwāl mālətna, w qalli ʿəddki məstamsak šē? qəttūlu naʿam ʿəndi məstamsakāt, mālə́ti w māl wlādi, sallamtūləm-hīyəm, ğanāsi ʿirāqī, daftar xədma māl zōği, kəlla axaḏūha mə́nəna, w axaḏu aqwālna, qālu hāḏa-huwwa. **8.** *ġağaʿtu qəltūlu aġīd əlməstamsakāt, qalli lā, mā yṣīr, mā-nəʿṭīki-hīyəm. qām qalli lmutarğəm qalli nəḥna, nəbʿátəlki makān ma təstaqarrīn, nəbʿáṯəlki.* **9.** *mā baqa ṭəqtu aḥki kəll šē w qəltu hāḏa-huwwa. ğābūna ʿal-*'Heim', *b*-xxx. **10.** *ṯāni yōm bəl-ʿašā, ğətt wəḥdi, masʾūli ʿalēna, ğābət awrāq mālətna qālət ēma-əntəm, ġayyəḥ tġōḥūn ʿala* xxx. **11.** *nəḥna mā nəʿġəf, ğətt mənšaʾa axaḏətna, waddətna hōnək ʿal-kamp, ʿamlūnna* 'Ausweis', *w ğo sallamūna lkamp, w baʿd, qālətli baʿd sətt=tīyām, ʿəddki taḥqīq, maḥkami hōni. qəttu hāḏa-huwwa.* **12.** *ṯəmənṭáʿəš ṯmānya, əṣṣəbəḥ ğā hāḏa səkērti ʿalēna, qalli əlyōm ʿəddkəm taḥqīq, qəmna, ġəḥna ana w əbni.* **13.** *əbni fāt qabli, w ṭalaʿ, ṭabʿan ana mā-ġaytūnu, ğā lmutarğəm ʿalayyi, qalli tfaḏḏali ənti, ṭlaʿi. ṭalaʿtu.* **14.** *qēʿde lmuḥaqqiqa, saʾalət . . ., əlmutarğəm saʾalni, ənti mnēn? qəttūla ana mən əlMōṣəl.* **15.** *kam walad ʿəddki? qəttūla ana ʿəndi . . . ṯaṯ-wlād ʿəndi, əbnēn w bənət. zōğki? qəltūla zōği əlḥamdilla ṭayyəb, hōni-huwwa, bass zōği w əbni ləkbīġ b-xxx, sallamu hōnak.* **16.** *saʾalətni ənti mnēn, w mawālīdi w mawālīd wlādi w mawālīd zōği w b-ēma sani kənəzzawwağtu qəttūla b-sətti sabʿīn.* **17.** *mawālīdki? qəttūla mawālīdi ṯnēn w xamsīn. mawālīd ə́bənki ləkbīġ? qəttūla sabʿa w sabʿīn. qālət ləzġayyəġ? qəttūla mawālīd ṯamīnīn. w əlbə́nət? arbaʿ w ṯmānīn.*[9]

18. *qallətli . . ., saʾalətni yaʿni, asbāb əlxurūğ mālə́ti mən əlʿirāq. qallətli ə́šwaqt ṭalaʿti mən əlʿirāq? qəttūla ṭalaʿtu xamṣṭaʿš sabʿa mən əlʿirāq.* **19.** *qallətli ēṣab wṣəlti? qəttūla səṭṭaʿš sabʿa wəṣəltu Slōbya, qarya b-Turkiyyi. sabʿaṭaʿš sabʿa wṣəlna Stanbūl.* **20.** *qālət mən Stanbūl ēṣab ġəḥti? qəltūla ġəḥtu bēt əlmuharrəb huwwa əlkənəstalamna, šəqqa mālə́tu, manṭaqa əsma Ḥarbīya.* **21.** *ḏallēna ʿəndu lī arbaʿa ṯmānya, ğā ssāʿa ʿašġa b-əllēl, ʿašġa ʿašġa w nəṣṣ bīha hākəḏ, ğā ʿalēna lmuharrəb. qāl yaḷḷa hassaʿ əššāḥna mawğūdi iḏa təṭlaʿūn.* **22.** *ṭallaʿna b-əššāḥina, əlmuharrəb, w əlmuharrəb maʿāna. haḏāk əlwaqət lā aʿġəf, ṭalaʿna b-əssafīna, aw ṭalaʿna b-əlʾáġəḏ, əssīyāra qāmət təmši, aw ṭalaʿna b-əṭṭayyāra mā aʿġəf baʿd.* **23.** *limma wṣəlna īdáʿəš ṯmānya, kānət bīha ssāʿa īdáʿəš hākəḏ ṯṇaʿəš, hōni b-xxx, mā-ʿġəf xxx, mā-ʿġəf aš-ysammūha, hōnək nazzalna, əlmuharrəb, qāl hāy Almānya, huwwa ġāḥ.* **24.** *saʾalni ʿa-lšāḥina, qəttūlu šāḥina bēḏā, katābi xaḏġā, ana mā-ʿġəf aqra ənglizi. əssāyəq? qəltu mā-ʿġəf šəkl əssāyəq, yaʿni b-ṣarāḥa ma-ʿġə́fu.*

[. . .]

[9] Wechsel von der Maṣlāwi-Form zur Koinè-Form.

25. *ʿəddna b-əlMōṣəl, kəbbi maṣlāwī, ʿəddna kəbbət qēsi, ʿəddna kəbbət yaxni, ʿəddna pāča, maʿrūfa b-əlMōṣəl . . . b-ənnəsbi l-əlʾaklāt, baqlāwāt, əlḥalawīyāt, əš-ma yəʿǧə́bak aklāt, b-əlMōṣəl ʿəddna.* **26.** *w hāy əlkəbbi mašhūra māl Mōṣəl, kəbbi kbīġi, māl bərġəl, kəbbət qēsi māl ʿīd rās əssani, kəbbət yaxni māl ʿīd əlmīlād, yaʿni pāča, munāsabāt, ʿala ṭūl, ʿirāqīyīn-nəḥna, w xāṣṣatan b-əlMōṣəl, əṣṣə́bəḥ mā yəfṭərūn illa pāča. xāṣṣatan lərǧēl* [. . .] **27.** *kəbbət əlqēsi, naʿam. kəbbət əlqēsi, nənqaʿ əttəmman, faġəd t̲at̲ sāʿāt arbaʿ sāʿāt, aku mənnəm yənqaʿūnu mən əlʿaṣər lī-ṣṣə́bəḥ, ana mā kəntu anqáʿu, faġəd sāʿtēn kān ykaffīni.* **28.** *kəntu at̲rəm laḥəm, habəġ, ṣāfi, adəqqa maʿānu, maʿ əttəmman, w aʿməl ḥašī māləm, ṭabʿan at̲rəm əlhabəġ, axallīlu ṭaġaf. axallīlu baṣal w bhārāt, akattə́la, hāy kəbbət yaxni nsammīha nəḥna, axallīla ḥəmməṣ, ʿḏ̣ām māl ġanam māl . . ., hāy aṭbə́xa hākəd̲.* **29.** *kəbbət qēsi, aḥšīha laḥəm bbaḥdu, laḥəm w ṭaġaf, bala baṣal. hāy kəbbət qēsi—hāy māl yaxni illi ḥakētūlak-hīya, hāy māl qēsi, akattə́la zġēġi, nēʿmi.* **30.** *kəbbət qēsi, axallīla qēsi, ḥəlu, qaṣəb. aku mənnəm yxallōla zbīb. ana mā-xallīla zbīb yaʿni əllūlād mā yəʿǧə́bəm zbīb, b-ākəd̲, axallīla tīn, axallīla laḥəm, bə-ʿḏ̣ām, ḥəlu axallīla šwayy ḥəlu, xāṭər yaʿni lā tkūn ḥəlwi kt̲īġ, w maʿ əlqēsi.* **31.** [OJ: *w əlpāča šlōn ysawwūha?*] *ah əlpāča! naʿam. əlpāča, aku mənnəm yəʿmalūn māl xāġūf, māl ġanam, aku mənnəm yxallōn māl baqar maʿāhəm.* **32.** *māl xāġūf, āxəd̲ əlġās, əlmaqēdəm, əlkəġši, aṣmə́ṭəm naḏ̣īf, b-ṃayy məġli, aṣmə́ṭa kə́lləta anaḏ̣ḏ̣ə́fa, ḥasb əlʾuṣūl, w akassəġ əlġās, afallə́šu yaʿni mā makān əlməxlaq, bass afsə́xu əlġās, anaḏ̣ḏ̣ə́fu naḏ̣īf, axallīnu b-ṣafḥa,* **33.** *w aʿməl əlmaqēdəm mālə́tu nafs əššē, w əlkəġši mālu, ṃayy ḥāġġ, aḥəṭṭla ṃāy ḥāġġ, aṭammə́sa w ašīl ġāsa ḥatta tənḏ̣af ṣṣīġ bēḏ̣ā, mət̲əl ət̲t̲áləǧ.* **34.** *axsə́la naḏ̣īf, yaʿni ḥasab mā wēḥəd . . . xāṭər yəštəhīha tkūn naḏ̣īfi. axallīla əsəm hākəd̲ bhārāt, aku mənnəm yxallōla bhārāt əlkəġši, aku mənnəm mā yxallōla, ana axallīla aqūl ṭaʿma yəṭlaʿ aṭyab. axallīha b-ṣafḥa.* **35.** *aǧīb bōmbārāt,*[10] *axsə́ləm naḏ̣īf, aqallə́bəm, aḥəkkəm, axallīləm šwayya ḥəməḏ̣ ʿalēhəm xāṭər lā ḏ̣ḏ̣əll zafāġa bīyəm, w aḥəkkəm arǧaʿ aqallə́bəm aḥəṭṭəm b-ṣafḥa.* **36.** *aǧi at̲rəm əlláḥəm mālə́ti, axsəl əttəmman, axalli šwayya t̲ūm bīha, aku . . . ḥasab mā wēḥəd yəʿǧə́bu, aku mənnəm yxallōla t̲ūm aku mənnəm mā yxallōla,* **37.** *aʿmála, w arǧaʿ aqʿəd axayyəṭ əlkīpāyāt axayyə́ṭəm. b-xēṭ abyaḏ̣ axayyə́ṭəm. aḥšīha, w əlbōmbārāt aḥšīhəm, ašədd ġūsəm, anaqqə́bəm b-əssaffūd xāṭər təstáwi, w əlkīpāyāt,*[11] **38.** *axalli lġās w əlmaqēdəm, qōlāt*[12] *. . . əstād̲, ənta ʿarabi w əḏ̣ḏ̣āhər kənʾakalt pāča, mən hākəd̲ qattəsʾalni ʿa-lpāča.* **39.** *axallīla lqōlāt w aḥəṭṭ . . . yəstáwi taqrīban laḥəm əġġās ʿa-nnəṣṣ,*

[10] < kurd. *bumbar* ‘Dickdarm (bei Schlachtvieh)’.
[11] Zur Etymologie vgl. Aschuri *kēpāye* [pl.] ‘mit Reis gefüllter Pansen’.
[12] < türkisch *kol* ‘Arm; Vorderfuss’.

w axalli lkīpāyāt w əlbōmbārāt. w təstáwi, w asīla. **40.** *baqa əlli yəʿǧə́bu yxallīla ḥāməd̲ yəʿṣər fōqa, əlli yġīd mā yxallīha ḥasab mā yəʿǧə́bu yākə́la.* **41.** [OJ: *w baʿd əlʾakəl yġīdūn . . .*] *čāy! čāy, naʿam, čāy əssamāwər.* [OJ: *šlōn yəʿmalūn əččāy əlʿirāqi?*] **42.** *čāy əlʿirāqi, b-əssamāwər, čāy əssamāwər. naʿam. kān ʿəddna nəḥna samāwər ʿala ṭūl. kān maḥṭōṭ b-əlmaṭbax ʿa-ssənk, w ēma l-yəǧi yṣəbb w yəšġab. naʿam, kān yəšġabūn čāy . . .* **43.** [OJ: *yaʿni ssamāwər yəštə́ġəl w kull man yġīd . . .*] *ē! maḥṭōṭ mahma kān, b-ənnəsbi l-abūhəm arbaʿ w ʿəšrīn sāʿa čāy kān yəʿǧə́bu. xāṣṣatan b-əššə́te mā kənna nəṭfīnu əssamāwər abadan, mən əṣṣə́bəḥ w īla mā nnām, nəṭfīnu.* **44.** [OJ: *šlōn əssamāwər, aku qəsəm, ṃāy ḥāġġ . . .?*] *naʿam w əllāx qūri zġayyəġ, yətxalla ččāy bīnu, w yətxallālu šwayya ṃāy, w yətxalla fōq hād̲a . . . əllāx māl ṃāy, w ʿa-lḥaṛāṛa yṣīr, yətḥammaġ.*

Übersetzung

1. Vorher hatte ich als Schneiderin gearbeitet, doch als ich Kinder bekam, gab ich das auf. Ich wurde Hausfrau. Gottseidank lebten wir in guten wirtschaftlichen Verhältnissen, es fehlte uns an nichts. [. . .]. **2.** Schliesslich wurden die Verhältnisse für uns sehr schwierig, wir konnten es nicht mehr ertragen. Da zogen wir weg. Ja, wir nahmen unsere Kinder und zogen weg. [. . .] **3.** Wir kamen in Deutschland an, ich und mein Sohn, dieser jüngere Sohn, und meine Tochter war bei mir. Mein Mann und mein älterer Sohn waren noch nicht angekommen. **4.** Wir kamen in Deutschland an, [. . .] wir stiegen aus dem Lastwagen und gingen ein Stück, da sahen wir dort einen grünen Wagen. Wir sagten zu ihnen: Benachrichtigt für uns die Polizei,—wir konnten ja kein Deutsch. **5.** Sie riefen an, und es kam . . . der Polizeiwagen kam zu uns gefahren, eine Polizeibeamtin war mit dabei. Der Polizeibeamte fragte uns, er sprach englisch mit uns. Meine Kinder können englisch, meine Tochter und mein Sohn redeten mit ihm. **6.** Er fragte sie: Woher seid ihr? Sie sagten: Wir sind Iraker.—(Aus dem) Norden? Ich antwortete ihm: Nein, wir sind aus Mossul, und wir sind Araber. Er sagte: Kommen Sie bitte mit uns, und wir fuhren mit ihnen. **7.** Sie brachten uns zum Revier. Dort nahmen sie unsere Aussagen entgegen. Er fragte mich: Haben Sie irgendwelche Dokumente? Ich sagte: Ja, ich habe Dokumente, für mich und meine Kinder. Ich händigte sie ihnen aus, irakische Personalausweise und das Militärdienstheft meines Mannes. Sie nahmen alles an sich, nahmen unsere Aussagen entgegen und sagten:

Das war's. **8.** Daraufhin wollte ich die Dokumente wiederhaben, doch er sagte: Nein, das geht nicht, wir können sie Ihnen nicht geben. Da sagte der Dolmetscher zu mir: Wir werden sie Ihnen zuschicken, an Ihren Aufenthaltsort. **9.** Da konnte ich nichts mehr sagen und dachte mir: Das war's. Sie brachten uns in das 'Heim' in xxx. **10.** Am folgenden Tag beim Abendessen kam eine Frau, die für uns zuständig war. Sie brachte uns unsere Papiere und sagte: Wer sind Sie? Sie werden nach xxx fahren. **11.** Wir wussten nicht Bescheid, doch es kam ein Kleinbus, der uns abholte und uns dort ins Lager brachte. Sie machten uns 'Ausweise' und überstellten uns ins Lager. Dann sagte sie noch zu mir: In einer Woche haben Sie hier eine Anhörung, eine Verhandlung. Ich dachte: Das war's. **12.** Am 12.8. kam morgens der Verwalter [?] zu uns und sagte zu mir: Heute haben Sie die Anhörung. Darauf machten wir uns auf, mein Sohn und ich. **13.** Mein Sohn ging als erster hinein und kam wieder heraus, doch ich sah ihn nicht. Dann kam der Dolmetscher zu mir und sagte: Kommen Sie jetzt bitte mit. Ich ging hinein. **14.** Die Untersuchungsbeamtin sass da und fragte . . . Der Dolmetscher fragte mich: Woher sind Sie? Ich antwortete: Ich bin aus Mossul. **15.** Wieviele Kinder haben Sie? Ich antwortete ihm: Ich habe drei Kinder, zwei Söhne und eine Tochter.—Ihr Mann? Ich sagte zu ihr: Mein Mann ist Gottseidank am Leben, er ist hier [d.h. in Deutschland], doch mein Mann und mein älterer Sohn befinden sich in xxx, sie haben sich dort bei den Behörden gemeldet. **16.** Sie fragte mich nach meiner Herkunft, meinem Geburtsdatum, dem Geburtsdatum meiner Kinder und meines Mannes, und in welchem Jahr ich geheiratet hätte. Ich sagte: 1976. **17.**—Ihr Geburtsjahr? Ich sagte: Mein Geburtsjahr ist 1952.—Das Geburtsjahr Ihres älteren Sohnes? Ich sagte: 1977.—Der jüngere? Ich sagte: 1980.—Die Tochter?—1984.

18. Sie fragte nach den Gründen für meine Ausreise aus dem Irak. Sie sagte: Wann haben Sie den Irak verlassen? Ich antwortete: Ich habe den Irak am 15.7. verlassen. **19.** Sie fragte weiter: Wohin sind Sie gefahren [wörtl: angekommen]? Ich sagte: Am 16.7. kam ich in Silopi an, einem Dorf in der Türkei. Am 17.7. kamen wir in Istanbul an. **20.** Sie sagte: Wohin reisten Sie von Istanbul? Ich sagte: Ich begab mich in das Haus des Fluchthelfers, der uns in Empfang genommen hatte, in seine Wohnung im Stadtviertel Harbiye. **21.** Wir blieben bis zum 4.8. bei ihm. Dann, nachts um zehn, so gegen zehn, halb elf, kam der Fluchthelfer zu uns und sagte: Los, der Lastwagen steht jetzt bereit, wenn ihr bitte einsteigen wollt. **22.** Der

Fluchthelfer liess uns auf den Lastwagen steigen, und er selber [fuhr] mit uns. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt war mir nicht klar, ob wir mit dem Schiff reisen würden oder über Land, als das Auto losfuhr, oder ob wir mit dem Flugzeug reisen würden,—ich wusste es noch nicht. **23.** Bis wir am 11.8. ankamen, so gegen elf, zwölf Uhr, hier in xxx, oder vielleicht in xxx, ich weiss nicht, wie sie [den Ort] nennen. Jedenfalls liess uns der Fluchthelfer dort aussteigen. Er sagte: Das ist Deutschland, und ging. **24.** [Der Dolmetscher] fragte mich nach dem Lastwagen, ich sagte ihm: Ein weisser Lastwagen mit einer grünen Aufschrift, [aber] ich kann kein Englisch lesen.—Der Fahrer? Ich sagte: Ich weiss nicht, wie der Fahrer aussieht. Ich weiss es, ehrlich gesagt, wirklich nicht.

[. . .]

25. Bei uns in Mossul gibt es die 'Mossul-*kəbbi*', es gibt die Aprikosen-*kəbbi*, es gibt die *kəbbət yaxni*, es gibt die *pāča*, die ist bekannt in Mossul . . . Was die Speisen angeht, die Baklawa, die Süssigkeiten—alles was dir an Speisen gefällt, das gibt es bei uns in Mossul. **26.** Die bekannte Mossul-*kəbbi*, die grosse, aus Weizengrütze, ferner die Aprikosen-*kəbbi* am Neujahrsfest, die *kəbbət yaxni* an Weihnachten, und die *pāča* bei allen Anlässen; wir sind ja Iraker, und vor allem in Mossul . . . am Morgen frühstücken sie nichts ausser *pāča*, vor allem die Männer [. . .]. **27.** Jawohl, die Aprikosen-*kəbbi*. Dazu weichen wir den Reis ein, etwa drei, vier Stunden lang. Manche weichen ihn vom Nachmittag bis zum Morgen ein; das habe ich nicht gemacht, zwei Stunden haben mir ausgereicht. **28.** Ich hackte Fleisch, reines Muskelfleisch, und stampfte es zusammen mit dem [eingeweichten] Reis. Ich machte die Füllung, dazu hackte ich das Muskelfleisch und mischte Stücke vom Fettschwanz darunter. Ich fügte Zwiebeln und Gewürze hinzu und formte die Teigtaschen. Das nennen wir *kəbbət yaxni*.[13] Ich fügte Kichererbsen hinzu und Knochen vom Schaf und kochte es so. **29.** Die Aprikosen-*kəbbi* füllte ich nur mit Fleisch, Fleisch und Stücken vom Fettschwanz, ohne Zwiebeln. Diese Aprikosen-*kəbbi*—das, was ich dir zunächst erzählt habe, war die *kəbbət yaxni*—, diese Aprikosen-*kəbbi* forme ich zu kleinen, zierlichen Teigtaschen. **30.** Zu der Aprikosen-*kəbbi* füge ich Aprikosen, Traubensyrup und Datteln hinzu. Manche Leute fügen Rosinen hinzu, doch ich füge keine

[13] Entgegen der Absichtserklärung zu Beginn von Satz 27 spricht die Informantin doch zuerst über *kəbbət yaxni*.

Rosinen hinzu, denn die Kinder mögen keine Rosinen. Ich füge Feigen[14] hinzu, Fleisch, Traubensyrup gebe ich ein bisschen hinzu, damit sie nicht zu süss wird, und dann eben die Aprikosen. **31.** [OJ: Und wie bereitet man die *pāča* zu?] Ah, die *pāča*! Jawohl. Manche machen sie vom Lamm, vom Hammel, und manche machen sie vom Rind. **32.** Vom Lamm nehme ich den Kopf, die Füsse, den Pansen, und brühe sie sauber ab, mit kochendem Wasser. Ich brühe alles ab und säubere es, wie es sich gehört, und dann zerbreche ich den Kopf, d.h. ich spalte ihn der Länge nach [?]. Ich ziehe den Kopf ab [?], mache ihn schön sauber und lege ihn zur Seite. **33.** Mit den Füssen mache ich das gleiche. Den Pansen behandle ich mit heissem Wasser, ich tauche ihn in heisses Wasser und ziehe die oberste Haut ab, damit er sauber wird und weiss wie Schnee. **34.** Ich wasche ihn sauber, so sauber und appetitlich, wie man ihn sich wünscht. Ich füge ein bisschen Gewürz hinzu,—manche geben Gewürz an den Pansen, manche nicht, ich gebe Gewürz hinzu, weil ich finde, dass er dann besser schmeckt. Ich lege den Pansen zur Seite. **35.** Dann nehme ich die Därme, wasche sie sauber, wende sie um und schabe sie ab. Ich füge etwas Zitronensäure hinzu, damit kein fettiger Geruch an ihnen haften bleibt. Ich schabe sie ab, wende sie erneut um und lege zur Seite. **36.** Nun hacke ich mein Fleisch, wasche den Reis, gebe etwas Knoblauch dazu—wie es einem eben schmeckt, es gibt welche, die Knoblauch dazugeben, und welche, die keinen dazugeben. **37.** Dann setze ich mich hin und nähe die Pansenteile zu, ich fülle sie und nähe sie mit einem weissen Faden zu. Ich fülle sie, und auch die Därme fülle ich, binde sie an den Enden zu und steche mit einem Bratenspiess Löcher hinein, damit sie gar werden, und auch die Pansenteile. **38.** Dann gebe ich den Kopf und die Füsse hinzu . . . Herr Professor, Sie sind Araber, und ich glaube, Sie haben schon einmal *pāča* gegessen, deshalb fragen Sie mich danach. **39.** Ich gebe die Füsse dazu und . . . Wenn das Kopffleisch etwa zur Hälfte gar ist, gebe ich die Pansenteile und die Därme dazu. Wenn [die *pāča*] gar ist, nehme ich sie [vom Feuer]. **40.** Wer möchte, gibt Zitrone hinzu, die er darüber auspresst, und wer will, gibt [keine Zitrone] hinzu, wie er [die *pāča*] eben essen möchte. **41.** [OJ: Und nach dem Essen wollen sie . . .] Tee! Jawohl, Tee aus dem Samowar. [OJ: Wie bereitet man den irakischen Tee

[14] Wohl irrtümlich für Datteln.

zu?] **42.** Den irakischen Tee, den Tee im Samowar, jawohl. Bei uns gab es dauernd einen Samowar. Er stand in der Küche auf der Spüle, und jeder der kam, goss sich ein und trank. Ja, sie tranken Tee . . . **43.** [OJ: Das heisst, der Samowar ist in Betrieb, und jeder der möchte . . .] Jawohl! Er stand auf alle Fälle bereit. Zum Beispiel ihr Vater[15] wollte vierundzwanzig Stunden am Tag Tee. Vor allem im Winter haben wir den Samowar nie ausgehen lassen, vom Morgen bis zum Schlafengehen, dann erst machten wir ihn aus. **44.** [OJ: Wie ist der Samowar, es gibt ein Teil mit heissem Wasser . . .?] Ja, und das andere ist eine kleine Teekanne. In die tut man den Tee, man gibt etwas Wasser dazu, und dann stellt man sie auf das Dings, dieses Teil mit dem Wasser, und in der Hitze zieht der Tee und wird fertig.

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[15] Der Vater der Kinder, d.h. mein Mann.

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CHARACTERISTICS OF BEDOUIN DIALECTS IN SOUTHERN SINAI: PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

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1. *Introduction*

When some ten years ago I was working on research into the dialects of northern Sinai, I came across a dialect type which showed a number of features that I suspected to be of southern Sinaitic origin. The dialect type was that of the *Samāʿnah* and the *ʿAgāylah* (which I labeled 'group II' in de Jong 2000), who now live in and around the *Gaṯyah* oasis. One of my informants then told me that the *Samāʿnah* had emigrated from the mountainous region called *aṭ-Ṭūr* in the south of Sinai some hundred years earlier; the region where we find the tribes whose dialects are the subject of this article.

The reason that I suspected these group II dialects to be of southern Sinaitic origin was that several features in the vocabulary of the *Ǧbāliyyah* compiled by Tetsuo Nishio were strongly reminiscent of what I had heard in recordings I had made in group II (examples with references to Nishio 1992 will follow below).

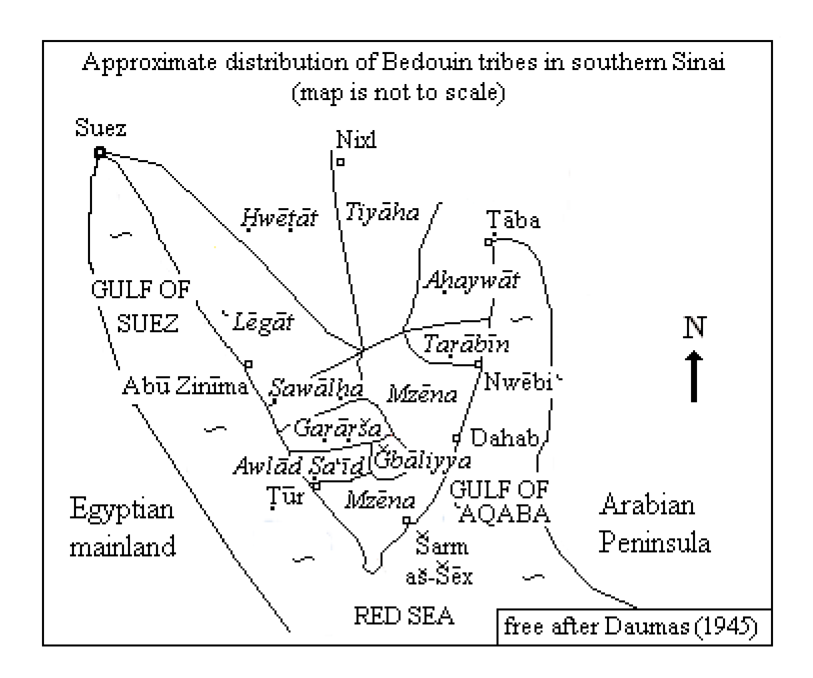
When Manfred Woidich one day mentioned that he still had some recordings and notes from field visits to the *Ǧbāliyyah* and *Garāršah* he had conducted in southern Sinai in 1966 and 1967, I asked his permission to use this material for a paper to be read at the fifth AIDA conference in Cádiz (Spain) in 2002, since it is my intention to expand my researches into Sinai dialects farther to the south. In the back of my mind lingered the idea to use his material to contribute to the present volume.[1] The following article is based on

[1] As one of his former students, I am especially pleased to contribute to this volume in honour of Manfred Woidich, who is one of the 'Grandmasters of Arabic dialectology', and who, as a superb teacher, has been a great source of inspiration to me. To those readers who may spot somewhat less accurate observations in this article, I can only state in my defence that—to avoid spoiling the surprise—this

some twelve hours of Manfred Woidich's own recordings, which I wrote out in June 2002 in Dahab with the help of my regular informant from the north, *Moḥammad Saʿdi ʿAli il-Hirš*, whom I should like to thank here.

In this article I shall present some of my initial findings. The aim of this article cannot be to be exhaustive on this topic, but is merely to highlight some of the linguistic features that strike one's ear when one hears these dialects. It is my intention however to publish more on southern Sinaitic dialects over the coming years. The question of whether the dialects of the *Garāršah* and *Ǧbāliyyah* are actually sufficiently similar to be grouped together in the same typological group will have to be resolved at a later stage.[2] To put matters in a larger dialect-geographical perspective, a number of references will be made to publications on other Bedouin dialects spoken in the region (particularly those of the northern Sinai and the Negev).

The map below illustrates where the Bedouin tribes of southern Sinai were found around 1945:



time I had to do without the scrutiny of his sharp eye while cooking up this 'Dutch treat' for him.

[2] The dialect of the *Taṛābīn* (of the south) is clearly not part of this southern group, nor are observations made here meant to include any of the dialects of tribes

2. *Phonology*

2.1 *Vowel phonemes and diphthongs*

Dialects in southern Sinai have three short vowel phonemes /a/, /i/ and /u/ and long vowels /ī/, /ā/ and /ū/. Raising (*ʾimāla*) of the long /ā/ is considerable in environments not influenced by velarisation and the phonetic quality then reached may be as high as slightly under cardinal vowel 3 [ɛ].[3] Velarisation will result in allophones of the phonemes /a/ and /ā/ around cardinal vowel 5 [ɑ]. A preceding *ḥ* or *ʿ* will bring their phonetic value to near cardinal vowel 4 [a].[4]

In velarised environments, and also when *ḥ* or *ʿ* precedes (*x* and *ġ* tend to be already velarised in the vicinity of *u* or *ū*) /u/ and /ū/ will be lowered towards cardinal vowel 7 [o].

Although phonemic opposition of the short high vowels /i/ and /u/ can certainly be said to be limited—velarisation will often trigger the appearance of *u*, rather than *i*—a more detailed conclusion on this topic can only be drawn on the basis of more material.

Where reflexes of Classical Arabic diphthongs are concerned, it appears that typically southern Sinai dialects are characterised by monophthongs in all positions,[5] which yields the additional long vowel phonemes /ē/ and /ō/. Examples of such monophtongisation are for **ay: bēt* 'house', *dēr* 'monastery', *ʿēš* 'bread', *kḥēlah* 'reference to a small dark-coloured horse', *ḏ̣ēf* 'guest' and *bṣēḷah* 'small onion'. For **aw* examples are: *yōm* 'day', *ǧōzí* 'my husband', *gōṭart* 'I went', *ḥōl* 'year', *xōf* 'fear' and *ʿŌda* 'male given name'. Phonetic overlapping of /ī/ with /ē/, and of /ū/ with /ō/, as in the dialects of the Negev (see Blanc 1970:118) and group I in northern Sinai (de Jong 2000:67–69), was not observed.

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other than those mentioned. I have also refrained here—for the time being—from distinguishing between the tribes. This will be done after more material has become available.

[3] The allophones for /ā/ are basically as described for eastern *Šarqāwiy*, see Woidich (1979:77).

[4] The numbering of the cardinal vowels refers to Daniel Jones' standard reference points.

[5] Unlike dialects of group I of the north, which have diphthongs when back spirants or velarised consonants precede, cf. Blanc (1970:118–119) and de Jong (2000:86–88).

In many dialects a preserved diphthong due to *Systemzwang*[6] is often *aw* in the word *mawǧūd* 'present', but this particular example was recorded as *mēǧūd*. Reflexes of diphthongs formed with the initial semivowel *w* as the first root consonant in the pattern $maC_1C_2\bar{u}C_3$ are somewhat confusing anyhow; what had been recorded as *mērakah* for 'cushion supporting the thigh [i.e. *wirk*] of a camel rider' in the north,[7] appeared as *mōṛakah* in southern Sinai, and (conversely) in southern Sinai, instead of expected *mawlūd* (root *w-l-d*), *mēlūd* 'born' was heard.

Long vowels may sometimes be shortened in unstressed positions (and then especially so in more rapid speech or 'allegro' forms), but will more regularly be realised as long, e.g. *salāmít*^{u}*ḳ* 'greetings to you [m. sg.]'. Shortening of long vowels when they precede a cluster of consonants (like for instance in the dialect of Cairo) is not a feature of dialects of southern Sinai, e.g. *byākluw* 'they eat'.

Although the distinction may be lost in allegro speech, final *-uw* and *-iy*, as the verbal endings of (m. and f.) pl. and of the 2nd ps sg. f. (respectively) are often audibly diphthongal in slower speech,[8] and are then distinguishable from forms that have suffixed *-u* and *-i* or *-ı́*, e.g. *simʿuw* 'they heard' will then contrast with *simʿu* 'he heard him' (where in more careful speech one might also hear a slight *h*-like off-glide: *simʿu*^{h}) and *íbniy* 'build! [imperative]' will in such cases, although minimally, contrast with *íbni* ~ *ibnı́* 'my son'.

2.2 *Consonantal phonemes*

Wide-spread secondary velarisation, which tends to colour /a/ and /ā/ towards cardinal vowel 5 and will often trigger the appearance of short *u* instead of *i*, is a prominent feature of dialects of south-

[6] The German term *Systemzwang* refers to the need apparently felt by speakers to avoid forms that are not morphologically transparent; the diphthong *aw* in *mawǧūd* is in many dialects, such as for instance Cairene Arabic, not monophthongized to become *ō*, because a conceivable form **mōǧūd* would no longer be recognizable as the result of arranging the three root radicals *w-ǧ-d* on the morphological pattern for the passive participle $maC_1C_2\bar{u}C_3$ (where the subscript numbering refers to root radicals 1, 2 and 3 respectively).

[7] I.e., in the dialects of groups III and IV, see de Jong (2000:346 and 422, both under § 2.1.1.1).

[8] The same holds for the ending *-iy* of tertiae infirmae (either in perfect as in *ligiy* 'he found' or in imperfect as in *yimšiy* 'he goes'), and also for the *-iy* ending of *nisba* adjectives.

ern Sinai.[9] Such velarisation tends to spread through the word from primary emphatics, but certain environments seem to create their 'own' velarisation. This occurs in particular where *l* is found near *x*, *ġ* and *g*, as in e.g. *gaḷḅ* 'heart', *naẋaḷ* 'date palms', *gāḷ* 'he said', *ẋāḷ* 'uncle', *šuġḷāt* 'genitive exponent f. pl.' (as was already noticed by Blanc 1970:127–130). Often *r* preceded by *a* or *ā* will be velarised as well, as in *ğāṛ* 'neighbour', *baṛṛa* 'outside', *sáğaṛah* 'tree'.

Most Bedouin dialects have three interdental phonemes:[10] /ṯ/, /ḏ/ as the regular reflexes of Classical Arabic (henceforth CA) **ṯ* and **ḏ*, and the emphatic /ḏ̣/ as the reflex for both CA **ḍ* and **ḏ̣*. This situation is also found in the dialects of the *Mzēnah, Garāršah* and *Ğbāliyyah* (see also Nishio 1992:XIII). An example for *ṯ* is *ṯalāṯih* 'three' and for **ḏ xaḏ* 'he took'. Examples for **ḍ* are *ḏ̣arabu* 'he hit him' and *iḏ̣ḏ̣abʿah* 'the hyena', and for **ḏ̣ ʿaḏ̣m* 'bone'. In loans from Modern Standard Arabic (henceforth MSA), probably via Cairene Arabic,[11] a reflex *ẓ* for **ḏ̣* may be heard, such as *maẓbūṭ* 'right, correct'. The voiced sibilant *z* was heard for **ḏ* in the MSA loan *baʿad zālik* 'after that' and *s* for **ṯ* in *ḥādsih* 'accident'. In *ṯalat t-iyyām* 'three days' the second *ṯ* (of *ṯalaṯ*) had completely assimilated to the following *t*.

The reflex for CA **q* is voiced *g*, which, as in all known dialects of Sinai, is not palatalised, e.g. *gaḷbī́* 'my heart', *suwwāg* 'driver' and (two instances in) *agṭaʿ ṛágabatu* 'I cut [imperf.] his throat'.

CA **k* has a straight forward *k* reflex, which is again without palatalisation. Unlike other Bedouin dialects in Sinai, however, dialects in southern Sinai—though not all—, like those of the *Samāʿnah* and *ʿAgāylah*, have an extra phoneme /ḳ/, where the lips are slightly

[9] As much as it is a feature of northern Sinai dialects. For more detail on this characteristic see de Jong (2000:70–74).

[10] There are some exceptions to the general rule of the development of interdentals to stops in sedentary dialects, see de Jong (2000:331–332 and n. 8 there). One notable exception in the region is the dialect of the *Biyyāḏ̣iyyah*, where the stops *t* and *d* are the (merged) reflexes for **t* and **ṯ*, and **d* and **ḏ* respectively, whereas the merged reflex for **ḍ* and **ḏ̣* has remained interdental with the emphatic *ḏ̣*, instead of a much more regular development resulting in *ḍ*, which is characteristic of most sedentary dialects. [See al-Wer's contribution to this volume, *Eds.*]

[11] Since the dialects of southern Sinai have interdentals in their phoneme inventories, loans from MSA with sibilants used in approximation to (identical) MSA interdentals must have come to these dialects via a dialect that does *not* have interdentals in its inventory of phonemes. The dialect of Cairo (through the media, education, etc.) is then the most likely route via which such forms reached our dialects.

rounded and the *k* is articulated more towards the velum. A minimal pair to isolate /k/ and /ḳ/ would be *bēt*^{u}*ḳ*[12] 'your [m. sg.] house' and *bētk* 'your [f. sg.] house'. Some additional characteristics of phonology are:

- **ğ* has a *ğ* reflex; *ž* (I.P.A. [ʒ]) is seldom (Nishio (1992:XIV) also reports I.P.A. [dʒ]).
- *s* in **šams* 'sun' has become *š* under influence of the initial *š: šamš* (reported also in Nishio 1992:120) and **š* in **šağarah* has become *s*: *sāğaṛah* 'tree' (Nishio 1992:129 reports *šağara*, but *sağaṛa* is used by his 'younger informant's father').
- Like in many Bedouin dialects, **q* has a *k* reflex in *katal* 'hit, kill'.
- Initial **ʾ* in **ʾasad* 'lion' was heard with a *y* reflex: *yasad*.
- In the presentative *irʿ* (presumably **raʾā* 'see') and the verb *saʿal* (**saʾal*) **ʾ* has a *ʿ* reflex (also mentioned in Nishio 1992:9).

2.3 *Treatment of final -a(h)*

Final -*a(h)*, including the feminine morpheme *-ah* (the *tāʾ marbūṭah*), is usually raised to *-ih* (i.e. phonetically around [ɪ], with a slight *h*)[13] unless such raising is prevented by preceding (either primarily or secondarily) velarised consonants or *x, ḥ, ġ* or *ʿ*. Such raising is not limited to pausal positions. Examples are: *issīğih* '[the game of] *sīğah*', *Tiyāhih* '[name of tribe] Tayāhah', but *kam ibṣēḷah kiḏiy* . . . '[something like] a couple of onions', *biddna nfikk tarbīʿah min baʿaḏ̣ha* 'we need to break up a square [positioning] of stones [in a *sīğah* game]', *sawwa gahawah bil misḥān* 'he made coffee with the pestle', *ana bakallím*^{u}*ḳ kalām maẓbūṭ, iṣṣiṛāḥah* 'I'm telling you what's right, the truth', *ğābūha luh bi lguẉẉah* 'they brought her to him with force' and *áḏṛah* (notice the stressed initial *a*)[14] 'dura sorghum'. On the other hand, I have also heard *nāfʿih* 'useful'.

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[12] The transcription with superscript ^{u} is used here to indicate the liprounding which accompanies the considerable degree of velarisation. In Nishio (1992:178) the pronominal suffix is transcribed as 'ku ~ok [. . .] in rapid speech, the last vowel /u/ is reduced to schwa, or often inaudible [. . .]' and one of the examples is *galamku* 'your [m. sg.] pen', which in the transcription used here would be *gaḷám*^{u}*ḳ* (note that stress in this form is an indication that the superscript ^{u} should not be interpreted here as an anaptyctic vowel, see remarks below in 5.1.4, remark **).

[13] This is considerably higher than Nishio (1992:XV) indicates (where usually cardinal vowel 3 [ɛ] is transcribed).

[14] Initial stressed *a* in reflexes of *CiCaC/CuCaC patterns and also *CuCā is quite common in the dialects of group II, but not in the other groups in the north, see de Jong (2000:§ 2.3.5. of chapters I–V).

In some instances reflexes of older *-ā* or *-āʾ* endings were recorded as stressed (though short), e.g. *(i)Ǧḥaʾ* ‘Guḥa’. Usually however, reflexes of **-ā(ʾ)* are more similar to the feminine morpheme, e.g. *wāḥid ǧāb ḥaṭab min Mūsih* [#] ‘somebody brought firewood from Mūsā’, *baʿad ilġadih* ‘after lunch’ and a verb form *nimnih* [#] ‘we slept’.[15] A notable exception, however, is *hniy* ‘here’ (cf. CA **hunā*) (although ~ *nihā(ʾ)*), where we find the type of extreme raising of final *-āʾ* more typically heard in dialects of group I (see de Jong 2000:80) and those of the Negev (see Blanc 1970:123–125).

3. *Morphophonology*

3.1 *Elision of short high vowels i and u*

Dialects of southern Sinai are all ‘différentiel’ with regard to the elision of short vowels; short *a* is not dropped in open syllables, whereas short vowels *i* and *u* will be dropped in such positions. Examples like *katalat* ‘she killed’, *ragabah* ‘neck’ and *mádrasah* ‘school’ may serve to illustrate the non-elision of *a* in open syllables, although in allegro speech one may hear a reduced form *ġālt* instead of *ġāḷat.* Examples like *simʿuw* (i.e. not *simiʿuw*) ‘they heard’ and *yúṭulbuw* ‘they demand’ show that a high vowels *i* and *u* in open syllables—whether preceded by *C* or *CC*—are elided. The rule may be represented as:

I → Ø / V(C)C_CV

I = short high vowel *i* or *u* C = any consonant V = any short or long vowel

This type of elision occurs within word boundaries, as well as in sandhi. Examples are: (morphophonemic elisions) *simiʿ* + *it* > *simʿit* ‘she heard’, *gaddim* + *uw* > *gaddmuw* ‘bring! [m. pl.]’ and in sandhi *gaddim* + *ilbakāriǧ* > *gaddm ilbakāriǧ* ‘bring the coffee pots’. The morphophonemic elisions always take place, and can therefore be said to be obligatory, while comparable elisions in sandhi may remain absent, which leads to a conclusion that this type of elision is optional.

The recorded form *ǧíddítu* ‘his grandfather’ illustrates a constraint on this type of elision; when CC and C are phonetically close (probably

[15] Nishio (1992:XV) remarks the same, e.g. (p. 17) *ʿaše* ‘supper’ and *ġadē* ‘lunch’.

also when they are identical), the short high vowel is not dropped in these southern dialects.[16]

Other examples are *yuṭlub* + *uw* → *yúṭulbuw* 'they demand' and a sandhi example *bisrig* + *iǧǧamal* → *bísirg iǧǧamal* 'he steals the camel'. In these last two instances, the consonant clusters resulting from the elision (i.e. the clusters *ṭlb* and in the sandhi example *srg*) are immediately resolved by inserting a high vowel preceding the last two consonants of the cluster CCC.[17] The rule for anaptyxis may be represented as follows:

Ø → I / (C)C_CC*

* In order to account for (here in bold print) anaptyctic vowels in cases like ʾ*ar**i**ḏ̣* [#] 'land', *riǧ**i**l* [#] 'foot', *ḥil**u**w* [#] 'beautiful, sweet' etc., we should specify that the last C in this rule is either 'any consonant' or 'speech pause'. To account for (initial) anaptyctic vowels in forms like ***i**ḥmāṛ* (base form *ḥmāṛ*) 'donkey' and ***i**yṛūḥ* (base form *yṛūḥ*) 'he goes', it is clear that for the first C in a cluster CCC we should specify the same.[18]

4. *Stress and phonotactics*

4.1 *Stress*

Dialects in southern Sinai have the *máktabah*-stress type, i.e. the vowel in the 'heavy' sequence nearest to the end of the word is stressed (where a 'heavy' sequence is defined as vCC(C) or v̄C(C)). Examples are: *mádrasah* 'school', *ṭágṭagat* 'she knocked' and *mṓṛakah* 'cushion for

[16] See remarks also in Woidich (1979:79 under § 2.2.3.). I did not notice reduction of the geminate, however.

[17] Nishio does not indicate such elision with subsequent anaptyxis in e.g. imperatives of the verb 'write' (1992:76) (m. sg. *iktib*) f. sg. *iktibi*, m. pl. *iktibu* and f. pl. *iktiben*, nor in the imperfect of the verb 'hit' (1992:88), e.g. m. pl. *yoḏ̣robu* and f. pl. *toḏ̣robu*, etc.

[18] See Woidich (1979:77–79). In contrast to the situation in eastern *Šarqāwi*, not all clusters are resolved in southern Sinai dialects, e.g. *bint* [#] and *binthin* 'her daughter'. For some detail on the role of relative sonority of the consonants (including speech pause) involved, which regulates the appearance or absence of anaptyctics, see de Jong (2000:123–126). For the phonetic quality of the anaptyctics, see de Jong (2000:128–131).

a camel rider', *šā́fatu* 'she saw him' and also (a sequence CvCCaCaCv) *náwwamatu* 'she made him fall asleep'.

A feature typical of north-eastern Sinai (i.e. group I) dialects is that the article may be stressed. This may be heard in southern Sinai dialects as well, but only when the topic of conversation calls for this more typically Bedouin type of stress, such as customary law sessions or the recitation of oral poetry. The article then tends to be *al-*, instead of more regular *il-*. Examples are: *wēn álgiḏ̣a?* 'where is the court ruling?', *itḥuṭṭlu milwih . . . áḏḏṛa* 'you give it a *malouah* [a measure of about 4 litres] . . . of sorghum', *hāḏ-álbil* 'these are the camels' and I have also heard *álmiy* 'the water' instead of more regular *ilṃayyah*.

Usually, however, we will hear unstressed articles in comparable positions, like in *ilǧábal* 'the mountain', *ilwálad* 'the son'. The forms with stressed articles are then best interpreted as B-forms.[19]

In the derived verbal measure *n*-1 the preformative is eligible to receive stress in the imperfect, e.g. (passive measure *n*-1) *yínfitiḥ* 'it is opened', but not in the perfect, e.g. *infátaḥ* 'it was opened'. This type of stress, in fact, constitutes an intermediate situation between groups I and II in the north; in group I one will hear *ánfitaḥ, yínfitiḥ* and in group II *infátaḥ, yinfítiḥ* (see de Jong 2000: chapters I & II under § 2.1.1.2.2.1.).

In the absence of 'heavy' sequences, i.e. when sequences of the type CvCv(C), CacaCv(C) or CaCaCaCv(C) are involved, the vowel of the first syllable is stressed, e.g. *sími*ʿ 'he heard', *kátab* 'he wrote', (a *gahawah*-sequence)[20] *báḥaṛ* 'sea', *kátabat* 'she wrote' and *ḏ̣árabat* 'she hit' and the *gahawah*-sequences *náx̣aḷah* 'palm tree' and *gáhawah* 'coffee'. Examples of stress in sequences of four open syllables are: *másakatu* 'she grabbed him' and *ṛágabatu* 'his neck'.[21] Notice here that we have here the exact same situation that we find in group II (and some of the dialects of group I, but not in groups III, IV or V of the north).[22]

[19] See de Jong (2000:25–26) on such forms that characterise 'bedouinised colloquial'.
[20] I refer to sequences resulting from the *gahawah*-syndrome (i.e. . . . (C)aXaCV or (C)aXaC) as *gahawah*-sequences, see below in 4.2.
[21] Nishio (1992:XVI), however, reports that stress never falls before the antepenultimate syllable.
[22] See de Jong (2000:664, map 16).

When *gahawah*-sequences are involved (see below 4.2.), the vowel created by the syndrome tends to 'behave' like an anaptyctic vowel, in the sense that it is not stressed, e.g. *táḥarṯuw* 'you [m. pl.] plough', (*naʿağin* + *u*) *náʿağnu* 'we knead it' (instead of *taḥárṯuw* and *naʿáğnu*).

For the special conditions created by suffixation of the 2nd ps m. sg. pronominal suffix, see remarks below in 5.1.3.

4.1.1 *Ordering of the rules for elision, stress and anaptyxis*

The proper ordering of rules may be illustrated with the example *yúṭulbuw* 'they demand'. This (surface) form is arrived at by applying the following rules (in the order from left to right):[23]

suffixation	base form	high vowel-elision	stress placement	anaptyxis
yuṭlub + *uw*	**yuṭlubuw*	**yuṭlbuw*	**yúṭlbuw*	*yúṭulbuw*

If then forms like (*simʿit* + *u* >) *símiʿtu* 'she heard him' and (*simiʿt* + *u*) *simíʿtu* 'I heard him' are contrasted, one could indeed claim that stress has a distinctive function.[24]

Notice that in a (surface form) example like *yínfitiḥ* a short low vowel *a* is not dropped in open syllable. One may wonder how we may conclude here that short *a* is not dropped, since there is no short *a* in this example. The point here is that the second *i* should be regarded as an underlying short |*a*|,[25] so the morphophonemic base form is actually |*yinfatiḥ*|. We may conclude this because the surface form is not *yíniftiḥ*, which is a form one can hear for instance in the dialect of *alʿArīš*.[26]

4.2 *Phonotactics*

Like in the dialects of groups I, II and IV in the north, the *gahawah*-syndrome is active in dialects of southern Sinai. To summarize the rule: When a non-final single *ʿ*, *ġ*, *x*, *ḥ* or *h* as the first member of a cluster of two consonants is preceded by a short vowel *a*, a short

[23] The ordering of the rules elision—stress—anaptyxis is as described for the dialect of *ilʿAwāmṛa* in the eastern *Šarqiyya*, see Woidich (1979:82).

[24] See Woidich (1979:83).

[25] As is explained in Blanc (1970:116). Although the concept of underlying representations is used to formulate synchronic rules, the diachronic implications can hardly be missed here.

[26] See de Jong (2000:521 under § 3.2.3.1.1.)

vowel *a* will break up this cluster, provided that the cluster is not a geminate, in which case it will remain intact (e.g. *faxx* 'trap', not **faxax*).[27]

Examples are: *báḥaṛ* 'sea', *láḥam* 'meat', *gáhawah* 'coffee', *náxaḷah* 'date palm', *baʿáḏ̣hum* 'each other', and verbal forms *aʿádifluḳ wāḥid minhin*[28] 'I shalll select[29] one [out of three appeal judges] for you', *btáḥalib* 'you milk' and *náʿağnu* 'we knead it'. As is often the case, derived verbal measures are exempted from the *gahawah*-rule, e.g. *aʿṭa* 'he gave', *gahwāh* 'he served him coffee' and *tagahwa* 'he drank coffee'.

Absent in southern Sinaitic dialects is the type of resyllabification, that changes a sequence like *samakah* into *smíkah*. To give some more examples: *katabat* 'she wrote' will not be resyllabified as **ktíbat* and *ḏ̣arabat* 'she hit' will not be **ḏ̣rúbat*. This *Nağdi*-type[30] of resyllabification has so far—in Sinai—only been observed in the dialect of the *Dawáġrah* (i.e. group IV of the north, see de Jong 2000: chapter IV).

The absence of such resyllabification also implies that resulting *gahawah*-sequences of three open syllables are left unaffected. This absence of this resyllabification rule, by the way, is nothing exceptional in Sinai; it should in fact be one of the hallmarks of Palva's North West Arabic dialect group, so NWA forms are not **gháwah* or **nxáḷah*, but *gáhawah* and *náxaḷah*.[31]

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[27] The rule would be: Ø > a / aX_C(V) (where X = ʿ, *ġ*, *x*, *ḥ* or *h* and V = any short or long vowel). Nishio also reports forms like (1992:126) *baḥar*, (1992:130) *zahara* 'flower' and (1992:63) (a verb form) *yaġaša* 'he goes near'. Elsewhere, however, Nishio (1992:112) reports that 'younger people' use forms that do not show *gahawah*-vowels: *yaḥfaḏ̣*, where older speakers would say *yaḥafaḏ̣* 'he memorises'.

[28] Notice that the (limited number of) three judges (i.e. men) are referred to here with the 3rd ps f. (!) pl. suffix *-hin*. This remarkable type of concord when a limited number of men is involved was also noticed in dialects of northern Sinai. Also with a limited number of objects (even when the sg. form is masculine) one may hear the fem. pl. used, as in *gaddmuw lbakāriğ yā-wlād, gaddmūhin!* 'Bring the coffeepots boys, bring them!' (m. sg. *bakrağ*) (cf. de Jong 2000, chapters I, II and IV under § 4.16.).

[29] See Stewart (1990:196) root *ʿ-d-f*.

[30] See de Jong (2000:48–50).

[31] See de Jong (2000, §§ 2.1.1.2.1.3. and 2.1.1.2.1.6. in chapters I–III).

5. *Morphology*

5.1 *Nominal morphology*

5.1.1 *Raising of short a in pre-stress positions*

Raising of short *a* preceding long stressed vowels occurs in several morphological patterns. In some cases this has led to morphological restructuring of the patterns, in other cases such raising has remained phonetic in character.

When in neutral environments, *a* is raised in the pattern $C_1aC_2īC_3$. We should conclude however, that underlyingly the resulting high vowel *i* or *u* has remained *a*, since it has remained in positions where (underlying) high vowels are normally elided. Thus one may hear *kibīr* 'large, old', *kifīl* 'guarantor', *ṭiwīl/ṭuwīl* 'long', *ṣiġīr* 'small; young', *ḏ̣imīr* 'heart', *ziʿīm* 'leader', but when a back spirant precedes, *a* is not raised, as in *ġafīr* 'guard', *ʿabīṭ* 'stupid'.

Another pattern where raising of short *a* is regular is CaCCāC (both $C_1aC_2C_2āC_3$ and $C_1aC_2C_3ān$), e.g. *suwwāg* 'driver', *sillām* 'strong', *xiyyālih* 'knights' and *šibʿān* 'satiated', *xuṛḅān* 'broken', *milyān* 'full', and also *ğillābiyyih* 'male dress'.

Raising of short *a* preceding long *ā* as in (+)CaCāC(+) occurs quite regularly, but is optional, as in the name of the tribe *Garāršah*, which is usually pronounced *Girārših.*

The stem vowel *a* of the perfect of media geminate verbs is usually raised in syllables preceding stressed *ē: suwwēt* 'I made' (where the following bilabials have steered the high vowel towards *u*). This raising is not impeded by preceding *x*, e.g. *xillētu* 'I left [sth.]', but preceding *ḥ* was noticed to have such inhibiting influence in the example *ḥabbēt* 'you loved'. This type of raising was found in group II of the north as well,[32] but in none of the other dialect groups in northern Sinai.

Finally, *a* in the pattern $*C_1aC_2ūC_3$ was recorded as raised to *u* in the examples *xurūf* 'lamb' and *yuhūdiy* 'Jew', but remained *a* in *ʿağūz* 'old woman' and *iṛṛasūl* 'the Prophet'.

[32] See de Jong (2000:309 and § 3.2.2.7.1. of the other chapters). Nishio (1992:99) reports comparable raising in, for instance, *səwwēt* 'I made'.

5.1.2 *The article and relative pronoun*

The article is *il-* and the relative pronoun *illiy*. In some exceptional cases to do with choice of register, the article was recorded as *al-* (see examples under stress 4.1).

5.1.3 *The feminine morpheme*

The feminine morpheme (*T*) of the first element of a construct state becomes *-at* when it is directly preceded by *aC*, e.g. *ḥadagat ʿēnī́* 'the apple of my eye', and with direct suffixing *ṛágabatu* 'his neck' and (with the *gahawah* vowel *a* preceding *C*) *naxaḷatī́* 'my palm tree'.[33] When directly preceded by a long vowel, *T* becomes *-t*, as in *gḏáthum* 'their judges'. In other cases, *T* becomes *-it*, of which the high vowel is dropped in positions as defined above in 3.1, e.g *liʿibtī́* (*liʿibtī́* (anaptyxis) < *liʿbtī́* (elision) < *liʿbitī́* (suffixation) < *liʿbih* + *ī́*) 'my game', *ḥúṛumtu* ^ (*ḥúṛumtu* (anaptyxis) < *ḥúṛmtu* (placement of stress) < *ḥuṛmtu* (elision) < *ḥuṛmitu* (suffixation) < *ḥuṛmah* + *u*) 'his wife', *kuššitha* 'her [lock of] hair'[34] and for special conditions of suffixation of the 2nd ps sg. pronominal suffixes, as in *salāmít*^{u}*ḳ* 'your health', see 5.1.4 below.

5.1.4 *Personal pronominals*

	independent		suffixed	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3.m.	*hū ~ huwwa*	*hum(-ma)*	*C-u(h), V-h*	*-hum**
3.f.	*hī ~ hiyya*	*hin(-nih)*	*-ha / -hi [#] **	*-hin**
2.m.	*inti(h)*	*intuw*	*C-*^{u}*ḳ ~ C-uḳ, V-*^{u}*ḳ, CC-uḳ***	*-kuw*
2.f.	*intiy*	*intin*	*C-k, CC-ik*****	*-kin*
1.c.	*ána*	*aḥna*	*C- ī́~C-i, V-y* (poss.); *-nī́~-ni* (obj.)***	*-na*

* Initial *h-* of the suffixed pronominals is often assimilated to a preceding voiceless consonant,[35] e.g. *nāssi ([#])* 'her folks', *ḥābissi*

[33] The situation with a preceding *gahawah*-vowel is exactly the same as in group II, but contrasts with group I, see de Jong (2000, § 3.1.10.3. of chapters I and II).

[34] Notice here that the situation is entirely in conformity (i.e. including suffixation of *gahawah*-forms) with the *T*-rule formulated for the dialect of the *Samāʿna* (of group II in the north), see de Jong (2000:279–280).

[35] Instances of non-assimilation appearing in the recordings are numerous as well,

([#]) 'having locked her up', *ḥanakka* 'her mouth', *bintti ([#])*[36] 'her daughter'.

A young boy was heard to consistently use an allomorph *-huw* (instead of *-hum*, which he used in context) in pause and an allomorph *-kum* in context, instead of *-kuw* (which he used in pause).

** This suffix is perhaps the most salient morphological feature of southern Sinai Bedouin dialects.[37] There is some variation with regard to the use of the vowelless suffix (*-*^{u}*ḳ*) or the vowel-initial suffix (*-uḳ*) when a single consonant precedes. In cases where stress shifts to the vowel preceding the suffix, we must conclude that the suffix is vowelless, e.g. *aʿallím*^{u}*ḳ* 'I'll teach you', *salāmít*^{u}*ḳ* 'your health', *ʿāríf*^{u}*ḳ* 'I know you', *ṛāḥ yākúl*^{u}*ḳ* 'he will eat you' and *xāṭúṛ*^{u}*ḳ* '[for] your sake' (where the change *i* > *u* in *xāṭir* is due to the further spread of velarisation. Another example of this is *liʿbút*^{u}*ḳ* 'your game'). Comparable forms, however, were recorded with the vowel-initial suffix, e.g. *ḏ̣āṛbuḳ* 'I take you [in a game of *sīǧah*]', which might probably just as well have been recorded as *ḏ̣āṛúbuḳ*.

However, when suffixed to a cluster of consonants, the vowel-initial allomorph *-uḳ* is always used. Thus one will hear for instance *kaṛmuḳ* 'your orchard', and also in the negation: *inta ma ʿumṛúḳiš ḥabbēt?* 'have you never been in love?'.

When a long vowel directly precedes, its phonetic quality is strongly influenced by a glide towards *u* before the plosive is released, e.g. *awaṣṣī*^{u}*ḳ ya-ḅuw Ẓēd* . . . 'I advise you, oh Abu Zēd . . .', *ǧā*^{u}*ḳ māšiy* 'he came to you on foot' and *ʿalē*^{u}*ḳ* 'on you [m. sg.]'.[38]

In several instances, however, notably when speakers recited oral poetry, a suffix *-ak* (like in groups I, III and V of the north, see de Jong 2000: § 3.1.12.2. of chapters I, III and V) was used.

*** Typical for most Bedouin dialects in the Negev and Sinai[39] is the long stressed *ī́* of the 1st ps c. sg. (whether possessive or object)

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e.g. *šāfathum* 'she saw them', *masakha min kuššitha* 'he grabbed her by her [lock of] hair', *ʿārifhi?* 'do you know her?'. Compare this to the situation in groups I and II of the north, see de Jong (2000:166, under *$^{2)}$, 272 and 285, under *$^{5)}$).

[36] Here the *t* is actually not doubled, but in fact the articulation of *n* is stretched (or 'doubled').

[37] It was recorded in the dialects of the *ʿAgāylah* and *Samāʿnah* (group II) of the north as well, see de Jong (2000:282–288).

[38] This -^{u}*ḳ* pronominal suffix was also heard in the dialect of the *Mzēnah*.

[39] See Blanc (1970:130) and de Jong (2000, § 3.1.12.2.1. in chapters I, II and III). Nishio (1992:178) reports these forms as well.

suffix, although speakers may use unstressed suffixes *-i* and *-ni* as well. To illustrate: *yimsikni min saʿaṛī́ w byunfuḏnī́* 'he grabs me by my hair and shakes me'.

**** Like in the example *waḷḷāh-ana ʿāwizk* 'by God, I want you [f. sg.]'.

As to the origin of the suffixes *-ḳ* and *-k*, one could think of a development from the plural pronominal suffixes *-ku* and *-kin*; if the parts *u* and *in* in these suffixes would have been perceived as the plural markers, then omitting them would logically result in singular suffixes (a process of 'back formation'). The plausibility of *u* and *in* being perceived by speakers as plural markers is illustrated by the verbal suffixes, which are (almost) identical, e.g. perfect forms *katabuw* and *katabin* and imperfect forms *yíkitbuw* and *yíkitbin*.

If the opposition f./m. was to be maintained in the 2nd. ps. sg. as well, this development could only have taken place after an opposition between *k* and *ḳ* (the latter of which became velarised under the influence of following *u*) had developed, which then facilitated the removal of *u* and *in* to create singular forms without the resulting forms becoming identical,[40] so that this opposition became phonemic (cf. de Jong 2000:283–284).

5.1.4.1 *Prepositions with suffixed pronominals*

Recorded instances of the preposition *la* (the independent form) followed by suffixes are: *lay(y)* 'to me', *lēᵘḳ* 'to you [m. sg.]', *lu(h)* 'to him', *lēha* 'to her', (pl.) *lēhuṃ* 'to them [m.]', *lēhin* 'to them [f.].[41] Instances of the preposition *l* + suffix, which is then in its turn enclitically suffixed to verb forms, are: *gālatlu* (sometimes shortened to *gātlu*) 'she said to him', *iddāhūlha* 'he gave it [m. sg.] to her', *kataltluḳ* 'I killed for you' and (here suffixed to negating *mā*) *māluḳš ḥīlih* 'you have no way out', but also *bigūl ēš luḳ* 'what does he say to you?'.

Like the preposition *la*, *b* + suffix may be enclitically suffixed to verb forms as well, e.g. *iykammílbuḳ* 'he completes [it] with you'. Independent forms like *bēha, bēhin* were also recorded.

The preposition *miʿ* has a split paradigm, i.e., a base *imʿ* (where the vowel may be stressed) when unstressed vowel-initial suffixes are

[40] This is not to say that speakers assume a teleological approach in such matters of linguistic change.

[41] Forms reported by Nishio (1992:191) are comparable to those listed here, except *bok* instead of *bēᵘḳ* is given there.

appended, and a base *miʿ* when consonant-initial suffixes are appended: *ímʿu* 'with him', *miḥḥa* 'with her', *ímʿuḳ* 'with you [m. sg.]' (but also *mʿúḳ*), *mʿī́* 'with me', *miḥḥuṃ* 'with them [m.]'.[42] Notice here that reciprocal assimilation of *ʿ* followed by *h* results in *ḥḥ*.

The preposition *min* has doubled *n* when vowel-initial suffixes follow, e.g.: *minnu* 'from him', *minha* 'from her', *minnuḳ* (here doubled *n* too!) 'from you', *minnī́* 'from me'. Similarly *ʿin: ʿinnu, ʿinnuḳ, ʿinnī́*, etc.

5.1.5 *Demonstratives*

Demonstrative pronouns that were recorded in dialects of southern Sinai are:

> (near deixis) m. sg. *hāḏa* ~ *ḏa* 'this', f. sg. *hāḏiy* ~ *ḏiy* 'this', c. pl. *hōḏaḷḷah, haḏōḷ* and *ḏōl* 'these' and (far deixis) m. sg. *ḏ̣āḳ* 'that' and c. pl. *ḏ̣aḷḷāḳa* 'those'.

5.2 *Verbal morphology*

The simple imperfect (*a*-, *i*- and *u*- types) and perfect conjugations (*a*- and *i*-types) are listed below. Like verbs with an *i*-type imperfect, verbs with an *u*-type imperfect conjugation have an *a*-type perfect conjugation.

	imperfect			perfect		imperfect
	'hear' *a*-type*	'write' *i*-type*	'demand' *u*-type*	'write' *a*-type	'hear' *i*-type**	'plough' *gahawah*-type*
sg.						
3.m.	*yásmaʿ*	*yíktib*	*yúṭlub*	*kátab*	*símiʿ*	*yáḥarit̠*
3.f.	*tásmaʿ*	*tíktib*	*túṭlub*	*kátabat*	*símʿit*	*táḥarit̠*
2.m.	*tásmaʿ*	*tíktib*	*túṭlub*	*katábt*	*simíʿt*	*táḥarit̠*
2.f.	*tásmaʿiy****	*tíkitbiy*	*túṭulbiy*	*katábtiy*	*simíʿtiy*	*táḥart̠iy*
1.c.	*ásmaʿ*	*áktib*	*áṭlub*	*katábt*	*simíʿt*	*áḥarit̠*
pl.						
3.m.	*yásmaʿuw****	*yíkitbuw*	*yúṭulbuw*	*kátabuw*****	*símʿuw*	*yáḥart̠uw*
3.f.	*yásmaʿin****	*yíkitbin*	*yúṭulbin*	*kátabin*****	*símʿin*	*táḥart̠in*
2.m.	*tásmaʿuw*	*tíbitbuw*	*túṭulbuw*	*katábtuw*	*simíʿtuw*	*táḥart̠uw*
2.f.	*tásmaʿin*	*tíkitbin*	*túṭulbin*	*katábtin*	*simíʿtin*	*táḥart̠in*
1.c.	*násmaʿ*	*níktib*	*núṭlub*	*katábna*	*simíʿna*	*náḥarit̠*

[42] Also Nishio (1992:160–161) reports such forms, but transcribes *umʿ* and *maʿ*.

* Bedouin dialects in southern Sinai all use the *b*-imperfect, e.g. *byísirgu* 'they steal'. Alternatively, and perhaps even more regularly, this last example may also be heard as *bísirgu*.[43]

The future is often expressed with *ṛāḥ* + simple imperfect, e.g. *ṛāḥ iyğawwzūkin innahāṛdih* 'they are going to marry you [f. pl.] today'.

In the imperatives of these verbs we find the same vowel harmony in the initial vowels: *ásmaʕ!* 'listen!', *íktib!* 'write!' and *úṭlub!* 'demand!'.[44]

** The short vowel *i* of the first syllable is not dropped in unstressed positions (not even in sandhi), so it is not e.g. *smíʕtuw*. It should therefore be interpreted as underlying |*a*|.[45] This is in contrast to what is reported in Nishio (1992), e.g. on p. 11: *smiʕt*, *smiʕti*, etc.

Many perfects, which are *i*-types in general Egyptian, are *a*-types in these southern dialects, e.g. *sarag* 'steal', *faham* 'understand', *masak* 'grab', *nazal* 'descend'.[46]

*** Notice the absence of harmonized suffixes (contrast with Blanc 1970:136).

**** Notice again the absence of vowel harmony in these suffixes (contrast with Blanc 1970:134).

	tertiae infirmae perfect:		mediae infirmae** perfect:
	a-type* 'go (on foot)'	*i*-type*** 'wake up'	'go (away)'
sg.			
3.m.	*máša*	*ṣíḥiy*	*ṛāḥ*
3.f.	*mášat*	*ṣíḥyit*	*ṛāḥat*
2.m.	*mišḗt*	*ṣiḥī́t*	*ṛuḥt*
2.f.	*mišḗtiy*	*ṣiḥī́tiy*	*ṛuḥtiy*
1.c.	*mišḗt*	*ṣiḥī́t*	*ṛuḥt*
pl.			
3.m.	*mášuw*	*ṣíḥyuw*	*ṛāḥuw*
3.f.	*mášin****	*ṣíḥyin*	*ṛāḥin****
2.m.	*mišḗtuw*	*ṣiḥī́tuw*	*ṛuḥtuw*
2.f.	*mišḗtin*	*ṣiḥī́tin*	*ṛuḥtin*
1.c.	*mišḗna*	*ṣiḥī́na*	*ṛuḥna*

[43] For the generalisation of the *bi-* and *bu-* prefixes, see de Jong (2000:224–226).
[44] Nishio (1992 *passim*) also reports vowel harmony.
[45] See Blanc (1970:134) and de Jong (2000, § 3.2.1.1. in chapters I–III).
[46] Nishio (1992:111–112) also reports *faham* (and states that *fihim* is used by the younger generation).

* Notice the raising of short *a* in this conjugation when it is unstressed. Another example is *ligēnāhuṃ* 'we found them'.

** In dialects of southern Sinai the imperfect of mediae infirmae may appear with a reduced base vowel and subsequent shift of primary stress. The vowel of the prefix is then in harmony with the shortened base vowel. Examples are *lamma tíġib ʿinnī́ yōm* (i.e. *tíġib* instead of *tġīb*) 'when you're away from me for a day', *mā túgul inta kumān yā Ḥsēn* (i.e. *túgul* instead of *tġūl*) 'you say [something] too then, oh Ḥsēn!' and *túkun* (i.e. instead of *tkūn*) 'you [m. sg.] are'.

Active participles are e.g.: *ṛāyiḥ, ṛāyḥah, ṛāyḥīn, ṛāyḥāt*. An interesting instance of an active participle + suffix is *šāyiltu* 'having [f. sg.] taken it away'.[47]

*** For the verb 'wake up' Nishio (1992:30) reports that the short *i* is not dropped in open unstressed syllables (like the forms listed above), but for the verb 'find', for instance, he does report such elision in the forms *lgīt, lgīti*, etc.

**** Notice here the absence of vowel harmony in the verbal endings. Contrast this with the situation in group I of the north, see Blanc (1970:134–135) and de Jong (2000:198, 201). The situation in group II of the north is not entirely clear, see de Jong (2000:304–305).

Imperatives of the mediae infirmae tend to show variation. Recorded forms are *gūl* 'say!' and (with a shortened base vowel) *šuf!* 'see!'. Another m. sg. imperative was recorded to appear with a similar shortened base vowel, but with an additional stressed proclitic in the example *ṣáḥḥatu. gālt* '*úgum ʿād*' (i.e. *úgum* instead of *gūm*)[48] 'she woke him up. She said 'get up then'. The parallel here is probably with the m. sg. imperative of primae *hamzah* verbs: *úxuḏ* 'take!' and *úkul* 'eat!' (the imperfect forms are with base vowel *u* (*yākul* and *yāxuḏ*). The perfect forms of these verbs are *kal* and *xaḏ*, and the active participles are formed with initial *m*-: *mākil, māxiḏ*, etc.[49]

The proclitic stressed vowel in *úxuḏ* is likely to be originally an anaptyctic vowel. This presupposes that a stress shift has taken place in these dialects. The anaptyctic would have preceded forms for the other persons (which were then still stressed on the endings) to resolve

[47] Interesting, since the participle is in construct state with the object, and the form is not *šāylāh*, or something similar.

[48] Nishio (1992:90) reports comparable forms *ozor* ~ *zūr* as m. sg. imperative for the verb 'visit', but (p. 31) *gom* ~ *gūm* ~ *ugūm* for 'get up'.

[49] Nishio (1992:92) also reports initial *m*-, but transcribes *māxoḏ*.

initial clusters that arose as a result from the elision of the base vowel (presumably *u*). The development then would have been (taking the f. sg. as an example): **xuḏíy* > (elision) **xḏíy* > (initial anaptyctic, still unstressed) **uxḏíy* > (stress shifts onto original anaptyctic) *úxḏiy*. The initial vowel then must have spread to the m. sg. form as well (a process of paradigmatic levelling), so that **xuḏ* could become *úxuḏ*.[50]

Mediae geminatae verbs have *a* in the perfect, and *i* or *u* in the imperfect. When the base vowel *a* of the perfect is unstressed, it is raised to *i* or *u*, e.g. *šiddēna* 'we pulled', unless such raising is inhibited by phonological factors; this is also a feature of group II dialects in the north (see de Jong 2000:309). An example of the active participle is *ḥāṭṭ* 'having placed'.

Like in sound roots, the prefix vowel of tertiae *yāʾ* verbs is in harmony with the base vowel, e.g. (*i*-type) *yimšiy* 'he goes' and (*a*-type) *tabga* 'she becomes'. The imperative of these tertiae *yāʾ* verbs (in several measures) is often apocopated, e.g. *istann* 'wait!', *xall harǧuḳ zēn* '[lit.] let your talk be good!', *gānūnuh íʿṭu-yyāh* 'his legal right, give it to him!'.[51]

The imperfect of the verb 'come' is usually with long *ī*, as in *yīǧuw* 'they [m.] come' and *tīǧin* 'you [f. pl.] come', but may also—much less regularly—be heard with a short base vowel, as in *tíǧiy* 'you come'. The perfect of 'come' is *ǧih* (at times *ǧiʾ*) 'he came', but when followed by a suffix, e.g. *ǧānī́* 'he came to me'. Other perfect forms that were recorded are: *ǧītin* 'you [f. pl.] came', *ǧuw* 'they [m.] came'. The imperatives used with this verb are *taʿā(l), -iy, -uw, -in*. These forms of the verb 'come'—though the transcription differs—were also reported in Nishio (1992:62).

5.2.1 *Derived measures*

The passive of measure I is formed with *n*-, and the patterns are then $inC_1áC_2aC_3$, $yínC_1iC_2iC_3$. Notice that stress is on the preformative in the imperfect, but not in the perfect. Examples are: *infátaḥ, yínfitiḥ* 'be opened'.

[50] Nishio (1992:91) reports *oxoḏ* ~ *xoḏ*, but also *oxoḏi* (without elision of the base vowel!)~ *xoḏi*, etc.

[51] Nishio (1992) gives many examples of such apocopated imperatives, e.g. on pp. 93, 97, 103.

Measure 1-*t*: active participle *miǧtamʿīn* (with *a* 'reappearing' as the base vowel, comparable to forms like *širib* 'he drank' and *šarbit* 'she drank' in Negev Arabic, see remarks in Blanc 1970:134–135, 139).

Measure 2 has morphologically alternating *a* in the perfect and *i* in the imperfect, e.g. *ʿallam, yʿallim* 'teach', *kammal, ykammil* 'complete', *ṛawwaḥ, yṛawwiḥ* 'go home', *ṭallaʿ, yṭalliʿ* 'bring up', *baṭṭal, ybaṭṭil* 'give up, stop'. The tertiae *yāʾ* measure 2 verb *lagga, ylaggiy* shows raising of the vowel *a* in unstressed position comparable to such raising in mediae geminatae verbs of measure 1: *liggēna* 'we went'.

Measure 3 has morphologically alternating *a* (in perfect) and *i* (in imperfect): *gābal, ygābil* 'meet'.

Measures *t*-2 and *t*-3 are usually formed with a *ta*- prefix (both in perfect and imperfect), rather than with *(i)t-*, and have a fixed vowel *a* in both perfect and imperfect. Recorded instances are: *ytanaxxam* 'he clears his throat', *ytafaṛṛagin* 'they [f.] look around', *taġaddēni* 'we had lunch', *taʿaššuw* 'they had dinner', *taḥayyaṛ* 'he was at a loss', and raising of *a* of the preformative may also take place as in *tiʿaššēna* 'we had dinner'. Examples of *t*-3 verbs are: *tabārazuw* 'they duelled', *ytabārazuw* 'they duel', *ytagāḏuw* 'they go to court', although also (perhaps through koineizing influences) *yitǧawwazha* 'he marries her'.[52]

Measure 4 is productive in these southern dialects. Examples are: *afṭarna* 'we had breakfast', *arkab ilbint* 'he put the girl on the horse', *aṭlaguw lbiʿṛān* 'they let the camels go', *ilblād amḥalat* 'the land was barren'. The verb 'give' is usually *idda, yiddiy* (but *aʿṭa* was also recorded).

Verbs with four radicals (of which the last is not weak) have so far been recorded with fixed *a* in perfect and imperfect only: *yfanxar* 'he snores', *ṭagṭagat* 'she knocked', *xarbaš* 'he scratched', *gōṭar* 'he went', but (with a last vowel *yāʾ*) *gahwa, ygahwiy* (notice the absence of the *gahawah*-syndrome) 'give coffee'. A recorded instance of a quadriliteral verb with a *ta*- prefix is *tagahwa* (~ *itgahwa*) 'he had coffee'.

[52] Nishio (1992:109) does not report *ta*- prefixes, but only *t*-, as in e.g. *tʿawwad, yitʿawwad* 'get used to'.

6. *Syntax and phraseology*

6.1 *Interrogatives*

The interrogatives that were recorded are: *mīn* 'who?', *ēh* (~ less regularly *ēš*) 'what?', *lēh* 'why?', *wēn* 'where?', *kēf* 'how?', *kam* 'how many?' and an interrogative *ʿalām* + pron. suffix 'how are/is . . .?', as in *ʿalāmuḳ yā-ḅuw Zēd?* 'how are you, oh Abu Zēd?' and *māluḳ ya Ǧḥáʾ?* 'how are things with you, oh Guḥa?'.

6.2 *Adverbs*

Some recorded adverbs are: *hniy* ~ *nihā(ʾ)* (~ K-form *hinih*) 'here', *hnāk* 'there', *ġādiy* 'there [far away]', *kídiy* 'thus', *ʿugub kíḏiy* / *baʿadēn* (often *biʿadēn*) 'after that', *ilḥīnih* 'now', *issāʿ* + neg. '(not) yet'.

6.3 *'Want, need'*

The verb 'want, need' is often expressed with *bidd* + pronominal suffix (also reported in Nishio 1992:196) rather than *widd* of the group I dialects, e.g. *biddna nfikk tarbīʿa min baʿaḏha* 'we need to break up a square [of stones in a game of *sīǧah*]'. Besides constructions with *bidd*, *ʿāwiz* (or *ʿāz, yʿūz*) may also be used, e.g. *aḥna ʿāwzīn naṭlaʿ ḅaga* 'we have to get going then', *ana ʿāwízk* 'I want you [f. sg.]'.

6.4 *šuġḷ and btāʿ*

As a genitive exponent both *šuġḷ* and *btāʿ* were recorded, e.g. *ilxirfān šuġḷātu* 'his lambs' and *lahū mākil ilʿanzah bitāʿitna* 'there he had eaten our goat'.

6.5 *Presentatives and intensifying particles*

As a presentative particle *íriʿ* was recorded in several instances, e.g.: *íriʿ kifīl^{u}ḳ* 'here's your guarantor' and *íriʿ minnī́ ṯalāṯih* 'here's three [judges] from [i.e. proposed for this court session by] me'.

Another presentative particle is *illa*, as in *lig-illi bísirg iǧǧamal, illa hū wāḥid ʿabid* 'he found [the person] who was stealing the camels. There he was, [he turned out to be] a slave'.

Another presentative is *lin*, as in *wāḥid ēh? ǧābat bint, iw lin ilbint . . . ġūḷah* 'One what? Gave birth to a daughter. and [see] this girl . . . was a *ġūḷah*'.

An intensifying particle *lan* was recorded in *inniswān dōl lanhin banāt kalb* 'these women are certainly daughters of a dog'. An intensifying particle *la* preceding a 1st ps imperfect form indicating determination[53] was recorded in *ana la-nguṛha* 'I shall certainly hit her'.

la followed by a pronominal may also be used as a presentative, e.g. *lahū mākil ilʿanzah bitāʿitna* 'there [it turned out that] he had eaten our goat'.

6.6 *Imperative of narration*

One of the characteristics of the narrative style is the imperative of narration,[54] e.g. *taʿā ṛāyḥ innimir l ʾēh? l innmāṛah* 'the leopard then came and went to what? To the leopards'. *lamma yǧīᵘḳ yiǧiriy fi ššāriʿ . . . taʿāl, iw xabbaṭlu fi wāḥid māšiy šāyl issitt ibtāʿtu[. . .] taʿāl ǧāriy mīn? ṣāḥb iliḥmāṛ* 'When he was running in the street . . . he came and bumped into someone who was carrying his wife. [then] Who came running? The owner of the donkey'. Another example is *ṛāḥ iyǧawwzūkin innahāṛdih. hinnih ziʿlin. gūmin urbuṭin šaʿarkin fi baʿaḏu kidiy fi baʿaḏu, hiyya diy . . . ilʿabdah rabaṭat wiyyāh šaʿaṛha fi baʿaḏ . . .* '"They're going to marry you [f. pl.] today." They [f. pl.] became angry. They then tied their hair together, and the slave girl tied her hair to it . . .'.

6.7 *Lexicon*

The dialects of the south of Sinai abound in lexicon generally associated with Bedouin dialects. Examples are: *zalamah* 'man', *wiliyyah* 'wife', *ṛabʿ* 'group of men', *harǧ* 'talking, speech', *ḥamād* 'barren land', *ḥōl* 'year', *zēn* 'good', *šēn* 'bad', *gōṭar* 'he went', *katal* 'he hit', *fakkar fi* 'he saw, looked at', *katt* 'he went down [e.g. a wadi]', *maṛṛaḥ* 'he spent the night' and numerous other examples.

[53] See Stewart (1990:244). A more general notion linking 'presentative' particles and 'intensifying' particles expressing 'determination' appears to be one of 'confronting the addressee with something unexpected'.

[54] For more detail on this characteristic of the narrative style, see Blanc (1970:139–140), Palva (1977, 1984), Stewart (1987:48, 10) and Ingham (1993:21–22).

7. *Conclusion*

There are quite a few indications that suggest that these southern Sinaitic dialects are relatively closely related to the dialects of group II in the north of Sinai. Notwithstanding obvious differences, the dialects share a number of characteristics, for which the most plausible interpretation appears to be that these indicate a common origin (or longer lasting contact) at some time in the past. The feature that stands out most in this respect is without doubt[55] the *-ᵘḳ* and *-k* pronominal suffixes of the 2nd ps sg. (m. and f. respectively). Another striking similarity is the raising of *a* (to *i* or *u*) preceding stressed *ē* of the verbal ending in the medial geminate verbs; these are not characteristics of any of the other dialects spoken in Sinai that were studied so far.

When we compare southern Sinai dialects with those of group I, features (mostly recapitulated from this article) that set southern Sinai dialects apart from (most) group I dialects (but in which they resemble group II dialects) are.[56]

- Absence of extreme raising (towards *-iy*) of reflexes of **-ā(ʾ)* (but occurs in I) (m. 9)
- *ē* and *ō* reflexes of **ay* and **aw* irrespective of phonological environment (diphthongs in I are phonologically conditioned) (m. 11)
- Stress in *CaCaC, CiCiC* and *CaCaCv* is always on the first syllable (in I often *CvCáC(v)*) (m. 14 and 15)
- The article is not stressed, unless speakers speak in a bedouinised register (which is largely an imitation, or approximation of the dialect of group I) (in I the article is stressed) (m. 18)
- The article and relative pronoun are predominantly *il-* and *illiy* (resp.) (*al-* and *alliy* in I) (m. 25)
- The 3rd ps m. sg. pronominal suffix is *-u(h)* (*-ih* or *-ah* in I) (m. 34)
- Lack of velarization in m. sg. demonstrative pronoun (i.e. *hāḏa* (often *hāḏ̣a* in I) (m. 39)

[55] Although I must admit that my regular informants, who helped me listen to the texts that I had recorded in group II of the north, only heard interviewees speak *-ᵘḳ* rather than *-ak after* I had made them aware of this. Apparently, this particular feature is much less salient for a native speaker than for someone striving to be an acceptable linguist.

[56] Following numbers preceded by 'm.' refer to numbering of maps in de Jong (2000, appendix). The Roman numbering refers to the dialect groups in de Jong (2000:693, map 74).

- The f. sg. demonstrative pronoun is only *hāḏiy* (often *hēḏiy* in I) (m. 40)
- The adverb for 'there' is *hnāk* (usually *hnuh* in I) (m. 45)
- Perfect forms of 'eat' and 'take' are without initial *a-* (*akal* and *axaḏ* in I) (m. 57)
- Most perfect and imperfect forms for verb 'come' are the same as those in II (but differ from those in I) (m. 60 and 61)
- Negating the verb is regularly done with bipartite *ma . . . š* (only *mā* in I) (m. 68)

Some of the features that distinguish dialects in southern Sinai from group III dialects in northern Sinai (but in which they resemble group II dialects):[57]

- /k/ and /ḳ/ in the phoneme inventory as separate phonemes (not in III) (m. 1 and 36)
- Interdental reflexes also for **ṯ* and **ḏ* (absent in *Biyyāḏ̣iy* and presumably disappearing in *Axrasiy* of III) (m. 2)
- Stress in *maCCaCah* is *máCCaCah* (same in *Axrasiy*, but *Biyyāḏ̣iy* of III has *maCCáCah*) (m. 13)
- Stress in *CaCaCaCv* is *CáCaCaCv* (although contrast with *Axrasiy* of III is uncertain) (m. 16)
- Southern Sinai dialects have an active *gahawah*-syndrome (dialects of III only have 'frozen' traces of the syndrome in certain nominals) (m. 19)
- 2nd ps f. sg. pron. suffix is not invariable *-kiy* (in III it is) (m. 37)
- Interrogative 'where' is *wēn* (*fēn* in III, although *wēn* ~ *fēn* in *Axrasiy*) (m. 43)
- *i*-type perfect has underlying |*a*| in first syllable (true for *Axrasiy* of III as well, but in *Biyyāḏ̣iy* of III it is e.g. *šribt*) (m. 52)
- Vowel harmony in *a*-type imperfect (e.g. *yašrab*, although *yišrab* (like in III) does occur—albeit less frequently—in II as well) (m. 53)
- Active participles of 'eat' and 'take' have initial *m-: mākil, māxiḏ*, etc. (*wākil, wāxiḏ* in III) (m. 59)
- Perfect of verb 'come' is without initial *ī-* or *i-: ğīh* 'he came' and 'I came' is *ğīt* (*īğa* and *ğēt* respectively in III) (m. 60)

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[57] '*Smeʿniy*' refers to the group II dialect of the *Samāʿnah, 'Biyyāḏ̣iy'* to that of the *Biyyāḏ̣iyyah* and '*Axrasiy*' to that of the *Axārsah*, the latter two of which form group III.

– Vocalisation of imperfect of measures *n*-1 and 1–*t* is *yinCiCiC* and *yiCtiCiC* (*yinCaCiC* and *yiCtaCiC* in III, although stress in southern Sinai differs from II) (m. 62)
– Measure 4 is productive in southern Sinai dialects (although it does not appear to be so in *Smēʿniy* of II) (m. 65)
– Typically Bedouin verbs like *gōṭar* occur in southern Sinai dialects (less so, or hardly any in III) (m. 66)

The combination of these similarities/differences clearly links southern Sinai dialects to group II dialects of the north, much more so than to any of the other dialect groups in the north. Whether group II dialects are to be seen as a northern continuation of southern Sinai dialects (or vice versa), or whether dialects of southern Sinai are to be treated as a separate group, and which of the other tribes in the south are also are part of this group, awaits further corroboration based on more extensive investigations in the field. What is already clear is that these southern Sinai dialects should be seen as yet a further continuation of Palva's (1991) North West Arabian dialect group, which is what I hope to substantiate in future publications.

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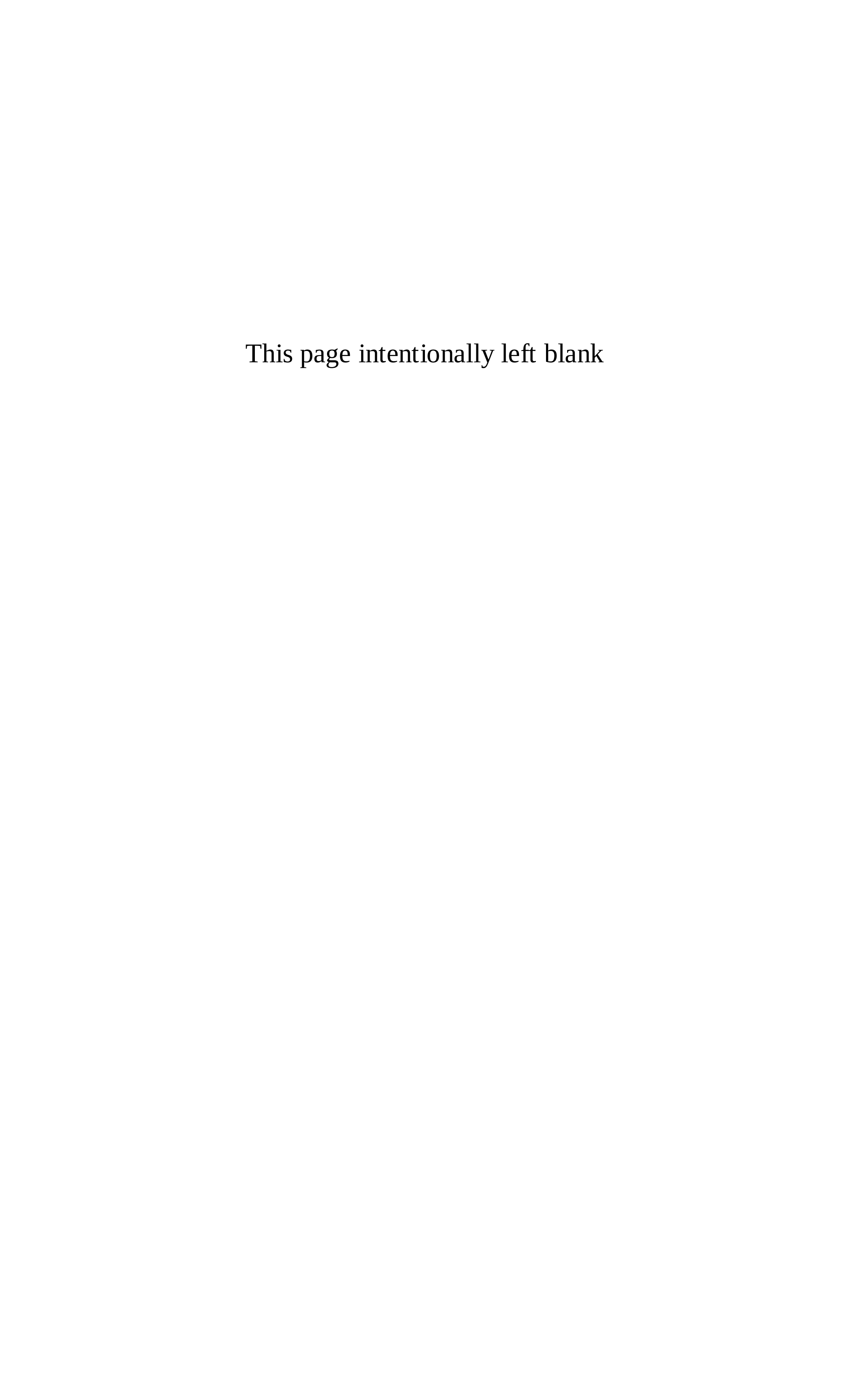
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VARIATION AND CHANGE IN ARABIC URBAN VERNACULARS*

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1. *Introduction*

This paper is an attempt to review what kind of linguistic dynamics have been recorded in Arab urban contexts in both contemporary and historical settings. Urbanization has been one of the greatest social changes of the last century in Arab countries, as well as in many other parts of the world. Consequently, urban sociolinguistic studies have known important theoretical and practical world-development in the last decades (Calvet 1994, 2000, 2002; Bulot et al. 2002). At another level, the concept of a specific model of the 'Islamic city' prevalent in the Orientalist studies came to be more and more criticized by historians and geographers working on the Arab world (Naciri & Raymond 1997). By reviewing the existing linguistic literature on the Arab cities, I will try to see if the descriptions fit within a more general or universal frame, or tend to indicate some specific characteristics. A number of recent publications present the state of the art for both Arabic linguistics (Eid 1990; Versteegh 1997) and more precisely for Arabic sociolinguistics (Daher 1987; Haeri 2000; Owens 2001). Owens (2001) offers a comprehensive analytical view of the advances and shortages of present-day Arabic sociolinguistics, and there is no need to come back to some rather well-known issues, such as the question of Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) or the nature

* The work of Manfred Woidich, in collaboration with Peter Behnstedt, for the dialect atlas of Egyptian Arabic is one of the most valuable contributions to the study of Egyptian Arabic. It is now difficult to imagine the state of Egyptian dialectology without his writings. One of my favorite papers is Woidich (1994), which discusses the social context of the formation of modern Cairo Arabic in mid-19th century. It is in reference to this particular paper that the following contribution has been written. I would like to thank Dominique Caubet, Clive Holes, Jérôme Lentin and Pierre Larcher for their careful reading of this paper. All remaining errors are mine.

of the relationship between *ʿāmmiyya* and *fuṣḥā*[1] in daily dialects. This is not to disregard the importance of education and of *ʿāmmiyya-fuṣḥā* contact in the evolution of contemporary urban dialects, but these issues have already attracted a lot of attention. Haeri (2000) also provides important remarks for further anthropological linguistic research on Arabic.

This paper will focus on the impact that migration and population changes might have, under specific circumstances, on the evolution of urban dialects. Both sociolinguistic and dialectal data have been reviewed for this matter, because they provide complementary information. The references are many and I could not review all, particularly with regard to dialectal references. I certainly missed or misinterpreted important facts and this paper will definitely need further additions.

The evolution and history of urban vernaculars are reflected in a number of contemporary linguistic variations correlated with communal affiliation (i.e. religious or ethnic or regional affiliation), age, gender and social classes. Linguistic variations raise the question of the prestige of the urban linguistic models (the city as a 'cultural frame of reference'). History and contemporary settings indicate that there is neither unilateral development nor a single model. On many occasions Arabic urban dialects that were associated with particular urban classes came to recede in front of new urban forces with a rural or Bedouin background. In other areas, urban dialects expanded towards rural areas and became the prestigious regional/national standard. The various developments might reflect the somewhat ambiguous status of the urban cultural models (*modèles citadins*) in many Arab countries.

When comparing the data provided by the Arabic linguistic descriptions with the data provided by historical, sociological or urban studies, one is struck by the lack of 'dialogue' between them (although there are happily some exceptions). Urban studies on the Arab world tell us about urban models and attitudes, *citadinité*, urban develop-

[1] Following Haeri (1996), I will use the term *fuṣḥā* for both Classical and Modern Standard Arabic. Linguists distinguish these two varieties, but Arab speakers themselves do not usually make this distinction (cf. *al-fuṣḥā* vs. *al-fuṣḥā al-muʿāṣira*). The term *ʿāmmiyya*, is usually translated as 'dialect' in English, although a number of authors find this term derogatory (Haeri 1996; Owens 2001). I will not enter into this point and use alternatively the terms 'dialect' or 'variety'.

ment, movements of population, social groups, clustering in specific neighbourhood, networks, and so on, but hardly say anything about language use.[2] Few linguistic studies take the time to incorporate their findings within a more global frame that will help to understand the nature and dynamics of the urban setting. All in all, we still rely mainly on very incomplete perceptions of Arabic urban dialects. Interestingly, we may know less about the evolution of urban dialects in areas with long-standing urban development like Bilād aš-Šām or Egypt than in areas with later or lower degrees of urbanisation (Maghreb, Mesopotamia, Bahrain).

In the following pages, I will first discuss the importance of urban dialects within Arabic linguistics. I will then present some historical examples illustrating the transformation of urban vernaculars due to migration and renewed patterns of settlement and I will discuss the complex issue of the origin of urban religious variables. Shifting to contemporary trends of koineization, I will raise the question of the maintenance of communal variables versus social variables (linked to age, sex, education, social class) and present a broad typological classification of present-day main urban Arab centres.

2. *Are Arabic urban vernaculars prestigious linguistic norms?*

The importance of urban dialects has been outlined for both the earlier historical period and the contemporary period. For the earlier period, arabization is thought to have started first in urban centres before expanding to whole areas. In the contemporary period, the urban vernaculars of the main capital cities are often believed to play the role of regional or national standard.

At the time of the first wave of the Arab conquest (7th–8th centuries), the urban and military centres are supposed to have acted as starting points for the arabization process and to have played an important role in the formation and diffusion of the 'modern' dialects (Fück 1955; Ferguson 1959, 1989; Cohen 1962; Blau 1965; Versteegh

[2] References to Arab urban studies are too many to be quoted. See for example the various contributions in Escallier & Signoles (1995), particularly chapter V (*L'insertion des migrants dans la ville: Problèmes économiques, sociaux et culturels*), Lussault & Signoles (1996), Naciri & Raymond (1997),

1984, 1993, 1997). If the authors do not agree and still argue on the processes of emergence and diffusion of the dialects as well as on the degree of simplification and restructuration (from Ferguson's single military koine to Cohen's various urban koines to Versteegh's process of pidginization), they agree on the importance of the military camps and the cities as poles of early arabization and linguistic innovations for the conquered territories. These early urban dialects are characterized by a number of features associated with koineization, simplification and innovation as opposed to Bedouin dialects, which are regarded as more conservative, and to classical Arabic.[3] But the influence of the earlier cities as starting points for the arabization of the rural areas is debatable. Bedouin migrations seem to have been a major factor of arabization in rural areas (Diem 1978).

Since the early 20th century, the dialects of the main cities are often emerging as national or regional standards in both the Maghreb[4] and the Middle East. In this respect, they are competing with Modern Standard Arabic (MSA, *fuṣḥā*) as prestigious norms in the Middle East (see among others Abdel Jawad 1987; Daher 1999; Ferguson 1987; Haeri 1996; Holes 1986, 1995; Ibrahim 1986; Palva 1982; Walters 1991, and others). The language change is not uni-directionally from dialects toward MSA, but also from sub-standard colloquial variations to urban/regional standard. In case of inter-dialectal contact, speakers who had features close to MSA might drop them and acquire non MSA standard urban/regional features in some contexts (see in particular Abu Haidar 1990, 1991 for Baghdad; Abdel Jawad 1986, 1987 for Jordan; and Holes 1986, 1987 for Bahrain).

But the large diversity of Arab urban contexts prohibits generalisation and there are still many exceptions regarding the emergence of unified regional/national standard varieties born out of urban vernaculars. There is not always a single urban standard vernacular and a single dialectal norm. In case of inter-dialectal contact within the city, the levelling/koineization process is not systematically, and at all linguistic levels, in favour of the pre-existing urban dialect. This raises the question which factors enhance koineization, or on the

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[3] For the list of the features and their discussion see Cohen (1962:125–142), Ferguson (1959), Versteegh (1984:82–106).

[4] See Bouamrane (1986), Boucherit (1986) for Algiers, and Marçais (1960), Levy (1998) for Casablanca.

contrary enhance maintenance of specific varieties. In sum, why and how can an urban dialectal standard norm develop?

As pointed out by Holes (1995:285), "which of the communal dialects which could potentially become the basis of the new (urban) standard actually ends up becoming it or making the major contribution to it depends not just on the size of the community that speaks it but at least as much on that community's political importance, which can change over time". We shall see below some historical examples where the koineization/levelling process took place largely at the expense of the former urban dialects (North Africa, Iraq, Bahrain). Contemporary interesting cases can also be found in emerging new cities such as Amman and Irbid in present-day Jordan.

The structure, status and evolution of each Arabic urban dialect cannot be analyzed in isolation, without taking into account the larger sociolinguistic background and the presence of the other varieties, namely the *fuṣḥā*, the Bedouin and the rural sedentary dialects. One of the characteristics of the Arab urban setting, compared to other non-Arab settings, might be that different linguistic varieties, associated with different and ambivalent values, have been, and still are, competing norms: *fuṣḥā*, associated with literacy, high education and religion but also with formality and conservatism; urban dialects, associated with modernity and urban cultural models but also sometimes with effeminacy and decadence; and Bedouin dialects, associated with *ʾaṣāla* 'purity of origin' and Arab tradition but also sometimes with backwardness and toughness.[5] According to the urban sociohistorical context, the degree of competition between each of the three main norms varies. The distribution of linguistic variables reflects the direction of change and the weight of each respective variety.

3. *The role of migration in the development of urban dialects: Some historical cases (14th–early 20th century)*

The historical evolution of the main urban vernaculars was determined by two main types of processes. In the first case, the migration to the city produced a considerable transformation of the urban

[5] Non-Bedouin rural varieties seem to have low prestige in most urban contexts and do not become potential urban norms. But this point needs additional research.

vernacular (Iraq, Mesopotamia, North Africa, Bahrain). The former urban vernacular became restricted to religious minorities and/or to women while the koineized Bedouin variety ended up as the dominant public urban standard language. In the second case, migration produced a levelling of the urban vernacular but without radical transformation (Cairo, Damascus). Religious-based variables are assumed to be more important in those cities where migration led to important linguistic transformation than in cities with more stable linguistic development. This point clearly needs additional research especially in cities known for their traditional religious/communal-based social organization.

3.1 *Bedouinization of old urban dialects: the Maghreb, Mesopotamia and Bahrain*

One of the important contributions of urban dialectal studies has been to highlight how the different historical phases of urbanization and settlement are reflected in the presence of various linguistic strata (old urban features together with later urban features closer to Bedouin or rural varieties) or that of different varieties within the same city. This phenomenon has been mainly described in the North Africa and in Mesopotamia, two regions which went through historical phases of urban destabilization. In many cities of these two regions, a later bedouinization process of urban dialects took place, following population movements and the settlement of former Bedouin/rural population in towns that led to the emergence of urbanized Bedouin dialects. The presence of different historical linguistic layers within the same city has been particularly (but not exclusively) highlighted in cities with communal/religious varieties. In Baghdad as in some North African centres (Oran, Tripoli, Algiers), religious minorities—Christian or Jewish—tend(ed) to speak old urban dialects, while Muslim speakers, especially men, tend(ed) to speak more bedouinized koineized varieties (cf. Abu Haidar 1991; Bouamrane 1989; Blanc 1964b; Cantineau 1940; D. Cohen 1973, 1981; M. Cohen 1912; Levin 1994; Levy 1998).

In North Africa (Aguadé et al. 1998), the relationship between different dialectal varieties or features and different phases of urban settlement was at first described through the distinction, drawn by Marçais and Colin, between pre-Hilali (urban and rural) and Hilali dialects (i.e. the dialects brought by the Bedouin Beni Hilal migra-

tion through the 12th–13th centuries). Subsequent re-classifications have highlighted the diversity of the pre-Hilali (or non-Hilali) dialects, the role of the Andalusian migrants in the 15 and 16th centuries as well as the influence of Berber language and Bedouin dialects (Levy 1998a, b; Caubet 1998). There are many examples of urban discontinuity and of 'mixed urban dialects' incorporating features of both sedentary and Bedouin dialects. Historical dialectal studies on the Maghreb benefited from the advances of Maltese and Andalusian studies that helped the comparison between these old-attested varieties and present-day North African colloquial varieties (see in particular Ferrando & Vanhove 1998). Generally speaking, Pre-Hilali and Andalusian urban dialects are/were found in old urban centres like Algiers, Blida, Constantine, Fes, Nedroma, Rabat, Sefrou, Tanger, Tetouan, Tlemcen, Tunis, where the Andalusian migrants had an influential role while sedentarized Bedouin dialects were/are spoken in more recent cities like Casablanca, Fes Jdid, Oran, but also some old cities like Marrakech, the former capital of the Almohades (Bouamrane 1989; Iraqui-Sinaceur 1998; Levy 1998). Since independence, the national/urban koines of the capital cities (Casablanca, Algiers, Tunis) are expanding and the general national trend towards koineization is leading to the progressive attrition of old urban dialects that are now mainly spoken by old women (Boucherit & Lentin 1989; Caubet 1998; Jabeur 1987, 1995; Messaoudi 1998, 2001).

In Mesopotomia, the bedouinization of former urban-sedentary dialects took place between the 14th and the 18th century following a phase of de-urbanization and re-tribalization and migration of North Arabian Bedouin groups into Lower Iraq (Blanc 1964b; Palva 1994). The relationship between the urban communal varieties of Baghdad (and also Basra) and the rural sedentary dialects spoken in Northern Mesopotamia has been highlighted by the studies on the *qəltu* dialects (Jastrow 1978, 1994; Levin 1994). Blanc's (1964b) study on Baghdad indicates that the Baghdadi Jewish and Christian dialects are/were close to the sedentary dialects spoken at the time of the Abbasid era. But shift of political power and instability induced a decline of the urban models and led to de-urbanization and re-tribalization of Lower Mesopotamia from the 14th century onward. The population of Baghdad and other urban centres grew back again in the 18th and 19th centuries with the settlement of former rural and Bedouin groups. The dialect of these groups, first demographically then politically dominant (20th century), became progressively the standard

urban dialect of the Muslim communities, while the non-Muslims stuck to the old varieties, which became associated with specific communities and were restricted to domestic use. Today, all Baghdadi varieties are under the pressure of MSA—*fuṣḥā* and the gap between them is lessening (Abu Haidar 1992).

The bedouinization of former urban/sedentary dialects took place in other cities and town of South Mesopotamia as well, as in the city of Salt (Palva 1994) with its mixed dialect. Yet, bedouinization did not occur at all linguistic levels but, as in the case of Salt, is restricted to phonological and lexical features. This seems to indicate that the linguistic process of accommodation to the Bedouin dialect was only partial and was restricted to the most salient Bedouin markers.[6] This is not without parallels in present-day Amman (cf. below section 5).

Another case is Bahrain (Holes 1983, 1986, 1987; Prochazka 1981), where the Shiʿi/Sunni sectarian distinction reflects a former sedentary/Bedouin distinction. The Shiʿi Baḥārna represent the old Baḥārna population and speak a sedentary dialect, while the Sunni represent the Bedouins who arrived in the 18th century and speak a Bedouin-type dialect. The two communities have lived cheek by jowl for more than two hundred years but, up to the mid-seventies, they were living separated from each other in different villages or different urban quarters and no intermarrying took place. The economical changes of the 20th century narrowed the divide between the two sectarian communities and led to the emergence of an intercommunal standard urban dialect spoken in public contexts and mainly based on the Sunni dialect, due to the political weight of the ruling Sunni families. The urban Shiʿi Baḥārna tend, at least in public settings, to drop their sedentary features and acquire the Sunni Bedouin features, even when the Baḥārna feature is closer to MSA than the Sunni one, e.g., the realization of /ğ/ as /y/).[7]

The historical processes of bedouinization/koineization of a number of urban dialects and the attrition of former old-urban dialects

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[6] Studies of contact between languages or dialects have shown that salient features such as lexical items and phonemes are the first features to be borrowed (cf. Trudgill 1986; Thomason & Kaufman 1988).

[7] The situation is quite complicated, see Holes (1987) for interesting information about variation within the Sunni and Shiʿi communities and the influence of MSA among the educated class of the two groups.

are important phenomena because they demonstrate how population changes in specific political contexts may lead to the renewal of urban dialects. Urban cultural models associated with specific urban groups can be swept out by 'new social forces' and become restricted to 'minority' groups such as religious minorities (Jewish in Maghreb, Christian/Jewish in Lower Irak, Shiʿi in Bahrain) or to women, in other words to groups subjected to various degrees of exclusion or segregation in public spaces (see below section 4).

3.2 *Koineization and levelling with maintenance of urban dialectal features: The case of Cairo*

In areas like Upper Iraq (Mosul), Bilād aš-Šām (Damascus) and Egypt (Cairo), the main urban dialects[8] were not subjected to such a levelling-bedouinization process, simply because the migrant population came mainly from the neighbouring rural areas and were speaking sedentary rural dialects. Interestingly, little variation correlated to religious affiliation has been recorded in these cities. According to Blanc (1964b), all religious groups are said to speak more or less the same urban/sedentary varieties.[9] However, the exact status of religious-based linguistic differences in these areas needs additional investigation because linguists do not always agree on this matter (see below for variables used by the former Jewish community in Cairo) and because more recent descriptions have indicated the presence of religious-based variation in a number of Syrian cities (e.g. Behnstedt 1989, 1992; Lentin 1981).

We still have very little information about the historical formation and evolution of these urban dialects until the 19th century, the period of the first recorded dialectal descriptions. In Cairo Arabic (CA) for example, historical information is drawn from semi-literary

[8] Note however, that not all the urban dialects of these areas fit within the traditional 'sedentary/urban' classification. A number of urban dialects like those of Upper Egyptian cities are structurally close to the regional Bedouin/rural dialects (cf. **q* = [g]). Many former Bedouin groups came to settle in Upper Egypt in the 13th–15th centuries, but we have no information about the linguistic history of these regional urban centres.

[9] Blanc (1964) believes that the towns of Greater Syria, Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula and Upper Iraq (Mosul) are characterized by minor religious linguistic differentiation and that linguistic difference is mainly reported at the lexical level. [See Jastrow's contribution to this volume, *Eds.*]

texts which give an indication of non-standard realizations but not a real picture of the spoken varieties.[10] Davies (2000) rightly points out that a literary text like Yūsuf aš-Širbīnī's *Ḥazz al-Quḥūf* from the 17th century, which is supposed to present dialectal samples of peasants' speech and is one of the rare pre-19th century sources, is not reliable for contrasting urban versus rural dialects. It is therefore difficult to assess the evolution of CA compared to its neighbouring rural varieties.

According to Woidich (1994:506), present-day CA might be the result of a levelling process which occurred in the second part of the 19th century following a renewal of the population due to the plague of 1835. CA is described as "a Central Delta dialect with an admixture of features pertaining to neighbouring regions [. . .]. This leads to the conclusion that more than one dialect has contributed to the development of CA". Today CA exhibits many features common to Delta dialects, few features similar to Upper Middle Egyptian dialects and few specific linguistic features (such as the lack of final pausal *ʾimāla* that was in use in the early 20th century, cf. Blanc 1973). The hypothesis of a levelling occurring as a result of massive population migration sounds quite probable in the 19th century Cairene changing social context, where many economic and social factors (e.g. the agrarian reforms and the urban reform of Mohammed Ali) led to a renewal and a redistribution of the Cairo population (Arnaud 1998; Kharoufi 1997; Raymond 1993). Many of these migrants came from the Delta (Menoufiyya and Daqahliyya Provinces) and spoke a sedentary rural variety close to CA, which explains why the degree of levelling and transformation of CA was far less radical than in Baghdad.

In spite of further important rates of mass-migration, no more levelling, due to the influence of rural dialects, seems to have affected CA since the early 20th century.[11] On the contrary, many features

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[10] The main sources for the historical study of Cairene or Egyptian Arabic are Birkeland (1952), Blanc (1973), Davies (2000), Doss (1979, 1995), Garbell (1958), Palva (2000), Woidich (1992). One of the oldest references to Egyptian, al-Maġribī's dictionary is currently being analyzed by Elisabeth Zack under the supervision of Manfred Woidich. [See Zack's contribution to this volume, *Eds*.]

[11] The percentage of migrant population within Cairene population has been high since 1846 (date of the first national census). Migrants formed 35% of Cairo's population in 1846, 25.7% in 1907, 37.5% in 1960, 26.8% in 1976 and 19.5% in 1986 (source: National Egyptian Censuses-Observatoire Urbain du Caire Contemporain, CEDEJ).

common to both CA and rural dialects that were present in CA at the beginning of the 20th century are now considered 'non-standard CA' or 'rural features', and have either been dropped or are stigmatized, such as the 1st ps. sg. of the imperfect of the *n*-verbal stem (*niktib* 'I write', *men'ullak* with *b* > *m* in front of *n*, 'I tell you'), reflexive forms with *in*-, 3rd ps. pl. in *-um* (*katabum, yiktibum* 'they wrote/write' instead of Standard Cairene *katabu, yiktibu*), and others (cf. Blanc 1974). It seems therefore that the ongoing influx of rural migrants till the 1980s has created an adverse linguistic reaction. Cairene speakers (including the former rural migrant population) tend to drop what they consider 'rural features' and shift to a more elevated urban style.

No mention of specific ethno-regional variables appears in modern descriptions of CA. Most of the linguistic descriptions (such as Broselow 1979; El Tunsi 1992; Gamal-ElDin 1967; Harrell 1957; Abdel-Massih et al. 1978; Mitchell 1956; Tomiche 1964; Wise 1975) provide a very homogenous and normative perception of standard CA. Yet, non-standard or 'rural features' might be far more widespread than usually recognized. A glimpse of this can be found in a remark from Woidich (1994:496) indicating that the suffixation of prepositions with long /ī/ like *gambīha* 'near her' is a feature shared by both CA and Middle Egypt dialects. He adds "no description mentions this fact which is very common in Cairo".[12]

Concerning the presence of religious distinctions, Tomiche (1968:1178–1180) mentions a specific Jewish variety, spoken by the Jewish communities of Alexandria and Cairo till the sixties, and characterized by specific features (such as the absence of emphatics, the use of *n-* and *n- . . . -u* for 1st ps. sg. and pl. imperfect, the presence of Ladino words and specific expressions). The concept of a specific Jewish variety has been refuted by Blanc (1974) who prefers to speak of 'non-standard CA', because a number of these features are shared by other groups: the *n-* and *n- . . . -u* forms are a North African feature, also found in other areas of Egypt such as the Western Delta, the Western Oases and some parts of Upper Egypt (Behnstedt & Woidich 1985–1994); the absence of emphatics was also common among the Syrian Arabic-speaking Christian community of the late

[12] When translating data recorded among migrants from Upper Egypt, I have come across this long /ī/ many times but Cairene speakers regarded it as non-CA.

19th, early 20th century (Tadié 1994); and weak pharyngealization is frequent among middle-upper class women of both Cairo and Alexandria (Royal 1985; Wahba 1996).[13] The presence of a specific Egyptian Judeo-Arabic was recently again, albeit not very convincingly, advocated by Rosenbaum (2002) who mainly provides a list of specific lexical items.[14] Concerning the Christians, linguistic differences are recorded only at the lexical level in address terms and religious terminology (Abboud 1988; El-Zeini 1985). Therefore, religious-based differences in Cairo have been recorded mainly at the lexical level and appear structurally less important than in North Africa or Baghdad. There is no indication that Christian or Jewish varieties could represent an 'older urban form' *vis-à-vis* Cairo Muslim Arabic.[15]

The absence of past/present distinctive communal varieties (religious or ethnic or regional) in a city like Cairo does not fit with the traditional descriptions of the social organisation of the city. Historians and geographers[16] describe pre-20th century Cairo quarters (*ḥāra*) as relatively segregated areas with ethnic or religious or professional clustering. Three hypotheses can be advanced: a) Cairene society may have been less segregated than previously thought (Alleaume & Fargues 1998); b) the linguistic descriptions failed to grasp the diversity of language use; c) spatial and social segregation did not result in sociolects having different morpho-syntactical features, a few lexical items being used as religious/communal markers.

This last point illustrates that the correlation between linguistic variables and social structures is neither always easy nor systematic. The fact that religious-based linguistic differences are/were less important in Cairo than in Baghdad or Fes, says nothing, by itself, about the social status or the degree of integration of each respective Jewish community. Linguistic differences and variables are not necessarily perceived as salient socio-linguistic markers associated with specific groups by the speakers and, inversely, minimal distinctions like a few specific lexical items can function as markers of specific sociolects

[13] We could add that we have no data indicating that the various social strata of the Jewish community in Cairo were speaking the same variety.

[14] The non-lexical elements provided by Rosenbaum are unconvincing because they can be found in other Egyptian varieties as well.

[15] But the Jewish variety seems to have been quite similar to the old variety of Alexandrian Arabic.

[16] See in particular Abu Lughod (1971), Baer (1964), El-Messiri (1978), Raymond (1974, 1993).

(Lentin 2002). When comparing the linguistic impact of various migrations on urban vernaculars, it is not easy to establish what have been the more relevant factors of differentiation between the different cities: is it the 'ethnic' origin of the migrants (Bedouin groups in Mesopotamia and North Africa versus more rural sedentarized groups in Egypt or Bilād aš-Sām) or the political context (access to power) or the pre-existing social structures of the cities? At this point, I tend to think that linguistic data alone cannot answer such questions without reference to precise socio-historical information. Before addressing the contemporary situation, I would like to come back to the issue of religious-based varieties because, as we have seen, they are historically related to patterns of migration and have often been regarded as one of the main factors of socio-linguistic diversity in 'traditional' Arab cities.

4. *The historical relevance of communal/religious differences within urban vernaculars*

The status of colloquial religious varieties[17] has attracted a lot of attention, particularly regarding Jewish varieties (Bensimon-Choukroun 1997; M. Cohen 1912; D. Cohen 1975, 1981; Jastrow 1990; Khan 1997; Levy 1990; Mansour 1991; Melar 1995; Piamenta 2000). The debate concerning the origin and the sociolinguistic relevance of colloquial religious/communal linguistic differences in Arab cities is far from closed because the data are quite ambiguous and contradictory and because ideological factors play an important role in determining the social status of a given variety.

Unlike Fück (1955), authors such as Blanc (1964b) believe that religious linguistic differences are not inherent phenomena in Arab cities. They are the result of demographic and political changes, related mainly to the sedentarization and urbanization of former Bedouin groups (see section 3.1) and reflect an original ethno-regional differentiation (urban versus rural/Bedouin) rather than a purely religious differentiation. In the first centuries after the Arab conquest,

[17] I am not addressing here the question of written Judeo-Arabic or Middle Arabic, although there has been an extensive debate concerning the relevance of the religious characteristics of these varieties.

there were no or few linguistic differences among the various urban religious communities. This is corroborated by the fact that in countries like Mesopotamia and North Africa, the Christian/Jewish varieties are/were structurally close to some neighbouring Muslim sedentary dialects (*qəltu* dialects in Mesopotamia, Andalusian and non-Hilali dialects in North Africa).[18]

The social status of Jewish varieties has been discussed in particular for North Africa where the Jewish varieties do not form homogeneous linguistic entities at the regional level. Jewish dialects vary/varied from one city to another and are sometimes closer to their urban/regional neighbours than to each other (Cohen 1981; Chetrit 1998). The degree of Hebrew interference is/was correlated with styles of speech, gender, education and age. High interference of Hebrew vocabulary characterized topics linked with Jewish religion and Jewish literary tradition. Therefore a more specific Jewish-Arabic variety is/was mainly spoken by literate rabbinical scholars while a large part of the daily language and oral literature, i.e. tales, proverbs, songs, poems, narratives, is/was common to both Muslim and Jewish groups (Chetrit 1998).

In most Arab cities, religious minorities tend to live in specific areas and to develop different linguistic models. The examples of Baghdad and Fes indicate that, after the demographic changes, religious communities kept their vernaculars for centuries and did not acquire the dialect of the demographically dominant Muslim communities. This reflects a certain degree of spatial and social segregation within the city, but also the fact that the Muslim urban Arabic dialects were not associated with power and prestige. In many Arab cities, the political power was in the hand of non-Arab foreign rulers up to the beginning of the 20th century. In North Africa, Jewish communities developed other linguistic models first in contact with the Spanish Andalusian speakers (15th/16th century), then with the Italians in Tunis and later on with the French colonial power in the 20th century (Cohen 1981).[19] It is only recently, during the 20th

[18] Nowadays, some historians also criticize the concept of ethnic or religious segregation as the main base of social organization in early traditional Arab cities. They consider that more strict religious segregation developed mainly during the Ottoman period (Miura 1997; Raymond 1997). However, the evaluation of segregation is extremely complicated and varies according to the level of analysis (spatial, economical, social, etc.).

[19] North African Jewish Arabic varieties are said to have been declining quickly

century, because of the political emergence of the local Muslim groups that the new urban Muslim-based koine developed and expanded in cities and countries with former religious distinctions (e.g. Baghdad, Abu-Haidar 1992).

The historical linguistic situation seems to indicate that strong religious linguistic differentiation in Arab cities arose only in specific political and demographic contexts but was maintained due to spatial, social and political segregation. Various degrees of variation related to religious affiliation have been an important component of many Arab cities till the early sixties. Since then, the relevance of religious linguistic distinction seems to be restricted to a few cities due either to a trend towards koineization or to the emigration of religious minorities: most Jewish communities have left their previous country and no longer represent an important social component of Arab cities, except in Palestine and Israel. Many studies on religious varieties present therefore historical (i.e. pre-mid 20th century) rather than contemporary situations.

Yet, the contemporary setting needs more detailed investigation, particularly regarding the status of Christian and non-Sunni varieties in the Middle East. Apart from Baghdad (Abu Haidar 1991) and Aleppo (Behnstedt 1989), where important structural differences have been recorded between Christian and Muslim dialects, we still lack systematic detailed descriptions in order to assess the relevance of religious differences in urban settings compared to other variables (age, sex, social class or regional origin). In Damascus, Lentin (1981) recorded many sociolinguistic variables which seem to be correlated with religious affiliation (Christian vs. Muslim) but there is also a high degree of ambivalence, variables being described as 'Christian, popular and old', for instance, or as 'Christian, sophisticated, more recent'. In Nabk, a city 80 km north of Baghdad, no differences between Muslims and Christians have been recorded, and the main variation is linked to age, younger people speaking increasingly Damascus Arabic (Gralla 2002). In the Jordanian cities (Amman, Irbid), variables are related to regional and ethnic origin (rural-urban Palestinian versus rural-Bedouin Jordanian) or to age and gender but

during the French colonial period, and it seems that the Jewish speakers were more keen to shift to non-Arabic varieties (French in the case of the Maghreb) than their Muslim urban fellows.

not to religious affiliation (Abdel Jawad 1986; Al Wer 2000; Ibrahim 1986; Sawaie 1994).

The relationship between religion, social classes and gender seems to be crucial in present-day Lebanon and Palestine due to the religious conflicts, the population movements and the political upheaval of the last decades. In Beirut, Naim-Sambar (1983, 1985) reported religious-based and gender-based phonological distinctions in the realisation of emphasis (strong among Muslim men living in the western part and weak among the educated Christian women living in the eastern parts). But we have no data concerning other levels of differences (morphological or syntactical), nor on the consequences of post-war population redistribution in Beirut, nor on the potential Sunni/Shiʿi distinction. A recent study on Bethlehem in Palestine (Amara & Spolsky 2001) indicates that Christian speakers (both women and men) tend to use more urban features like /ʾ/ than Muslim speakers who tend to use MSA /q/. Another study on Nazareth (Havelova 2000) indicates that gender more than religion is directing phonological variation. More women, whatever their religion, tend to use the urban variant /ʾ/ while most men tend to use the rural variant /k/. In Jerusalem, and since the 1950s, the linguistic split between Jewish and Muslim communities is said to have been increasing at the lexical level: Jewish Arabic integrated many Hebrew borrowings and Jewish speakers are shifting to Hebrew while Muslim Arabic is moving toward MSA (Piamenta 2000).[20] Sectarian variation (Sunni vs. Shiʿi) has been recorded mainly in Bahrain (e.g. Holes 1983a, b, 1987). But, according to Abu Haidar (1996), Shiʿi and Sunni Baghdadi Arabic also differ at the lexical level: Sunni BA uses more Turkish lexical items than Shiʿi BA.

All above-mentioned studies refer almost exclusively to phonological or lexical variants. Additional data are needed before we can reach more definite conclusions concerning the contemporary social relevance of religious-based linguistic differences in the changing Arab urban centres, particularly with regard to modern trends of koineization.

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[20] Piamenta (2001) claims that there is also a lexical difference between Christians and Muslims in Jerusalem. Christians are supposed to be more inclined to European borrowings and less to MSA borrowings than Muslims. This kind of generalization between religious affiliation and language uses needs to be demonstrated with statistical data. Other studies indicate that Hebrew borrowings penetrate Muslim and Christian Palestinian Arabic in both Israel and the Palestinian Occupied Territories (Amara & Spolsky 1986, 1996; Henkin 1996).

5. *Contemporary migration, urban koine and variation within the city*

Studies on communal variation have highlighted the importance of migration and subsequent koineization processes in the transformation or evolution of many urban dialects before the 20th century. During the second half of the 20th century, most Arab capital cities have known a tremendous increase of population, due to rural-urban migration. The question is, whether or not urbanization leads necessarily in the long term to a process of levelling/koineization, and to the emergence of new urban vernaculars subverting the former communal distinctions and developing new types of social variants associated with age, gender, education and social classes. This conceptualization of the city as a 'melting pot' creating new urban identities, not related to primordial affiliation (tribe, ethnic group, and others), has for a long time been the dominant thesis of urban sociology (Grafmeyer & Joseph 1979).

Five Arab urban archetypes can be defined with regard to the impact of migration and the degree of koineization:

• Capital cities with a prestigious and well-established dialect that has become a (unofficial) national standard at least since the early 20th century following large population movements. The dialect of the capital-cities is expanding in neighbouring areas and cities. At the present time, the migration trend no longer plays a decisive role in the development of the urban vernacular and does not initiate new processes of dialect levelling or koineization. The evolution of the urban vernacular is more affected by the influence of *fuṣḥā* and by internal developments (e.g. palatalization in Cairo, Haeri 1996). Migrants come with their own dialect, maintain it during a transitory phase of acquisition and accommodation (the time to acquire the urban standard) or keep it as an intimate home language side by side with the urban standard. This seems to be the situation of cities like Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad, and now Casablanca, although we are in need of more detailed studies of language use according to residential quarters, regional origin and degree of accommodation. In Damascus, for instance, the degree of homogeneization seems weaker than in Cairo. Many variables are recorded associated to gender, age, place of residences, religious affiliation (Lentin 1981). In Cairo, migrants tend to cluster in peripheral districts and there is not always a clear

distinction between 'social' variables and 'rural' variables, migrants' children born in Cairo shifting mostly to CA (Miller 1997).

- Capital cities of countries that have known recent demographic or political upheaval (war) with a still very important rate of rural or provincial migration. In these cities, the impact of recent migration is yet difficult to assess. It is not sure that migrants will shift to the pre-existing urban dialects. They may keep their own dialects and reinforce dialectal diversity or they may participate in the elaboration of a new koine. This seems to be the case of cities like Algiers, Sanʿa, Beirut. In public space (Watson 2002), Sanʿani speakers tend to replace old Sanʿani words by a number of pan-dialectal lexical items. In Algiers, Boucherit (1986, 2002) questions the existence of a single urban norm. More data are needed on these three cities, particularly on Beirut with its post-war residential division.
- Old urban centres with a declining urban elite and important population renewal. The old urban dialect is no longer prestigious enough to be acquired by new-comers and is even declining among the young generations of the original urban dwellers. The new-comers adopt the national urban koine, instead, and urban dwellers tend to speak this urban koine in public space, keeping their own vernacular at best for family communication. This is the case of many North African cities like Fes, Tangier, Rabat, Tlemcen and even Tunis, where the old urban vernacular tends to become more and more restricted to old women and is associated with an effeminate way of speaking (Caubet 1998; Dendane 1994; Iraqui-Sinaceur 1998; Jabeur 1996; Messaouidi 2001, 2002; Trabelsi 1988). This is also what happened in the early 20th century in a city like Alexandria (Egypt) whose population is said to speak nowadays Cairo Arabic except in a few old popular quarters (Wahba 1996).
- Emerging new cities with mixed population and koine in the making. Different dialects stand side by side and the migrant population plays an important role (Amman in Jordan). In this case, the dialectal variety of the rural/Bedouin migrants might influence the development of the urban variety. In Amman, one notes the co-existence of rural/urban Palestinian dialects and rural/Bedouin Jordanian dialects. Jordanian men are said to keep their Bedouin

pronunciation (*q realized as [g]) and to have a favourable attitude toward it, while urban Palestinian men sometimes tend to hide their Palestinian identity and adopt the Bedouin pronunciation (at least *q realized as [g] in Irbid; cf. Abdel Jawad 1986; Sawaie 1994). It may be noted, however, that maintenance of Bedouin features is recorded only at the phonological level (*q realized as [g]). There are indications that a new urban koine is emerging among the youth of Amman who use a mixed vowel system (Al-Wer 2002). Another example of an emerging new city is Nouakchott (Mauritania) but, as dialectal divergence is said to be limited in Hassaniyya (Taine-Cheikh 1994), urbanization and migration might not have the same linguistic impact.

- Cities with a large component of non-Arab migrants. Two types can be distinguished here. In cities like Khartoum (Sudan) the non-Arab migrants are national, might stay permanently and speak very different levels of Arabic (from a pidgin-creole type to regional dialectal varieties). Miller & Abu Manga (1992) have shown that the Sudanese non-Arab migrants speak predominantly Arabic but with a large number of non-standard Khartoum Arabic features. The same non-standard features were also found among their children born in Khartoum, which might indicate the development of a non-standard Khartoum urban variety. But this phenomenon needs further investigation due to the fact that the main migration wave is still very recent (1980s–1990s). Another type of city is represented by the Gulf cities (Dubai, Kuwait, etc.) with numerous foreign immigrants. A kind of pidgin Arabic, known as Gulf Pidgin Arabic, is spoken as a *lingua franca* between native Arab groups and non-native Arabs (Smart 1990; Wiswall 2002). How far this type of pidgin Arabic could affect the local urban vernacular remains to be investigated.

This broad categorisation indicates very different sociolinguistic situations according to the patterns of migration and the socio-political development of each city. For the time being, the urbanization process is still very much in the making, and the development of the urban vernaculars may be influenced by the presence of various communal (i.e. regional, ethnic or religious) varieties. How far these communal varieties will be maintained, melt, or disappear in different urban contexts, depends on the socio-political evolution of each city and each country. There is no indication of a common linear development

leading to the development of standard urban varieties spoken, in all speech-contexts, by the whole urban population of each city.

There are however some common trends that have been observed concerning gender and age variation with regard to the acquisition of urban vernaculars. Firstly, in cities where the old urban vernacular has been replaced by a new koine, old women (as well as members of religious minorities) tend to keep the specific linguistic features of the old urban dialects (e.g. diphthongs in Tunis, /š/ > /s/ in Fes and Rabat). Secondly, in contexts of dialectal contact and change, young women tend to acquire the urban variables faster than their male counterparts. Men tend to use more MSA/*fuṣḥā* norms or keep regional/communal variables, particularly at the phonological level.[21] It seems also that young educated middle-class women tend to use more lexical foreign items than men and to switch more easily to foreign languages associated with modernity (cf. Lawson-Sako & Sachdev 1996 for Tunis). Thirdly, in cities with more stable urban vernaculars, like Cairo, middle-class women initiate new phonological changes (Haeri 1996 for palatalization in Cairo), and variables related to middle-upper class women tend to become prestigious norms associated with refinement (cf. the status of weak pharyngealization, Boucherit & Lentin 1989; Cohen 1973; Naim-Sambar 1983; Royal 1985; Wahba 1996).

As a consequence, sedentary-based urban dialects are often perceived as more 'effeminate' than Bedouin/rural dialects (and *fuṣḥā*). Some urban variables are regarded as marks of femininity which are not quickly acquired by male immigrants and even deleted by male urban dwellers. This correlation between gender and linguistic features seems to be particularly operative at the phonological level,[22] as in the case of the variable **q* = [ʾ], one of the most salient and marked Arabic phonological features. In Tlemcen (Algeria), Tlemceni men shift to the koineized Algerian [g] while Tlemceni young women

[21] See among others Abdel Jawad (1986), Al Wer (2000), Ibrahim (1986), Sawaie (1994) for Amman; Benrabah (1994, 1999) for Oran; Caubet (1998) for Fes; Daher (1999) for Damascus; Havelova (2000) for Nazareth; Walters (1991) for Korba in Tunisia.

[22] The symbolic values associated with specific phonemes need to be more systematically explored (Gordon & Heath 1998). It seems that features like glottal stop /ʾ/, raising of the /a/ in *ʾimāla* (Walters 1991), and weak emphatization are often associated with femininity in the Arab world.

appear to be conservative in this respect, not shifting to the new urban koineized [g] and maintaining the traditional Tlemceni variable [ʾ].[23] Today, speaking with [ʾ] in Tlemcen is regarded as a sign of femininity (Dendane 1994).[24] In Tunis, men in certain speech contexts tend to use Bedouin [g] in order to look more virile (Traboulsi 1988). In Jordan and Palestine, men tend to use MSA [q] or Bedouin [g], while women tend to use urban Palestinian [ʾ]. In Egypt, Upper Egyptian migrants regard Cairo Arabic as more soft, sophisticated and effeminate than their own Upper Egyptian dialect, and a number of male workers consciously keep the [g] pronunciation (Miller 1997). In most Arab cities, men tend to use MSA [q] more than women.

The 'prestige' of the urban vernaculars is therefore very ambiguous, particularly among male immigrants, which might explain why shift or accommodation to urban vernaculars is far from being complete. For the time being it is difficult to assess if this gender phonological distinction will be maintained in the long run in urban context and whether migrants will maintain communal varieties. Attitudinal factors can converge here with social factors. The large majority of the immigrants came to stay in specific quarters (either at the periphery or in the old centres that were deserted by the former old urban families moving to new residential quarters). They belong to lower or middle-class strata and often develop their own professional and societal networks. Their interaction with the 'traditional urban dwellers', in particular the urban elite, is not always easy, to say the least. Like in many other countries, the massive rural migration is often considered to be an important factor of urban destabilization, and rural migrants are often associated with negative stereotypes. What types of cultural, social and linguistic models are presently being developed in these new urban territories remains a major domain of investigation, which, strangely enough, has been little studied compared to other types of variation.

[23] But note that in Fes young women drop traditional Fasi [ʾ] and shift to Moroccan koineized [q] (Caubet 1998).

[24] Owens (2001) quotes another reference to Tlemcen, which was not available to me (Dekkak 1979).

6. *Conclusion*

Many sociolinguistic studies on the Arab world have focused on the MSA/dialect contact and indicated that education, social class and gender were the main factors of differentiation in the use of MSA versus dialectal features or the degree of MSA/dialect mixing. Most of these studies were not concerned with dialectal diversity, which seems to have been regarded as a secondary or a minor phenomenon. The fact that many of these studies were carried out in a city like Cairo, with its well established urban vernacular, partly explains the focus on what has become known as ESA (Educated Spoken Arabic).[25] The contemporary sociolinguistic situation of the Arab countries is, however, far from restricted to this model, and the question of dialect contact and koineization, related to the phenomenon of urbanization, remains a major issue in many Arab urban centres.

The present review has highlighted that, in specific historical contexts, such as North Africa and Mesopotamia, some urban vernaculars have been subverted by new koines imported by non-urban, particularly Bedouin groups. This phenomenon has also been described by urban studies on the decline of former patterns of urban sociability (e.g. the 'Andalusian model of *citadinité*' of the old North African cities, or the Ottoman model of the old Middle Eastern cities) and the emergence of new urban 'tribal' models in cities with demographic changes (Beyhun 1997; Ben Achour 1996; Chabbi 1997; Naciri & Raymond 1997).

The prestige of the urban cultural and linguistic models is often ambiguous, urban dialects being often associated with modernity but also sometimes with femininity and over-sophistication. A rather specific phenomenon of the Arab world, compared to Western countries, is the social importance and the prestige of tribal and communal affiliations. The 'Bedouin factor' still plays an important role in many Arab cities, although this statement might sound too

[25] For all discussions concerning the development of Egyptian ESA (Educated Spoken Arabic), the presence of various sociolinguistic varieties within the di/tri/pluriglossic frame or phenomena of borrowing and code-shifting see Abu Melhim (1991), Badawi (1973, 1995), Bassiouney (1998), Eid (1988), El Hassan (1977, 1978), Elgibali (1993), Gully (1997), Harrell (1964), Mazraani (1997), Mejdell (1994, 1995), Mitchell (1979, 1980, 1986), Parkinson (1991), Rabie (1991), Schmidt (1974), Wilmsen (1996).

'culturalist-oriented'. Nevertheless, the importance of tribal and communal affiliation should not be overestimated.

There is a need here for a better investigation of the language use and attitude of the millions of new urban-dwellers in various contexts and at all linguistic levels (not only at the phonological level) including idiomatic expressions, poetic devices, musical choices, and so on. One of the main shortcomings of current Arabic sociolinguistic studies is their systematic restriction to a few phonological variables, even though the selection of features in language contact operates differently at each linguistic level.

Another direction of research is that of youth languages. Nowadays, young speakers represent the majority in most Arab urban centres. Yet, almost nothing is known about their language use,[26] even though in many other countries it appears to be an important urban phenomenon (Kiesling & Mous 2001). Study of youth language has started in the Maghreb with regard to Arabic-French code-switching among the youth (Caubet 2000; Laroussi 1999). In North African urban centres, code-switching seems to have become the informal urban code of some social classes.

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[26] Two small studies are available for Cairo (Allam 2000; Leigh-Peterson 2002).

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REMARKS ON IDEOPHONES IN NIGERIAN ARABIC

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1. *Introduction*

Manfred Woidich has made a distinguished contribution to a variety of Arabic, Egyptian, which has served as a motor for the expansion of Arabic into the far reaches of Africa. From Upper Egypt in particular, the eponymous Bani Hilal and Bani Sulayman tribes spread not only into North Africa, but into the Sudanic region of Africa as well. Ultimately, many forefathers of Nigerian Arabs trace their origins to settlers stemming from Upper Egypt, settling in the Lake Chad area in the 15th century (see Braukämper 1993, Zeltner 1970). Despite a long history as a minority variety of Arabic, the language displays most of the classical traits of an Arabic variety (retention of emphatics, broken plurals, basis of verbal inflection in perfect vs. imperfect forms, etc.), and in many respects preserves what can be considered old traits, for example presence of FPL in all morphological paradigms, linker *-n* in certain N-Adj contexts (*raajil abu bagarat-an kabiira* 'a man with a big cow'), and various other features.*

At the same time, there are innovative features which it has acquired in its long sojourn in Africa, particularly in the semantic and syntactic domains. Idiomatic structure, for instance, is, as it were, more African than Arab and word order in the noun phrase patterns closely with that of other languages in the area of Lake Chad (see Owens 1996). One of the most striking acquisitions is the development of a new grammatical class, that of ideophones.

* Symbols are as follows: DEF 'definite', F 'feminine', ID 'ideophone', INDC 'indicative', PL 'plural' PS 'passive'.

2. *Classes of ideophones*

While ideophones are recognized as a distinctive class in many languages, there is a consensus that their unity resides in the realm of phonology and semantics (Newman 1968). Phonologically they will often have distinctive traits, and semantically they typically are descriptives, characterizing actions, smells, movements, sounds, appearances, qualities and the like. Syntactically, however, ideophones, though typically modifiers (especially adverbs), may have various functions. Mamet (1973:912), for instance, notes that ideophones in Lontomba, a language of the Congo, may be classified as modifiers of adjectives, or of verbs, or even as nominals.

Ideophones are rarely recognized in Arabic linguistics. On a cross-linguistic basis a case could likely be made for including them. Some of the 'nominal verbs'[1] of the classical grammarians, for instance, can be given an ideophonic interpretation, *ṣah* in the sense of 'be quiet', or *mah* 'stop it, desist' (cf. the instrumental ideophones below). In Nigerian Arabic and neighboring western Sudanic dialects, however, they constitute a far larger class of items than in any other variety of Arabic. Their existence in Nigerian Arabic is interesting not only for Arabic, but also for comparative approaches to the study of ideophones. In contrast to ideophones in many languages, for instance, those in Nigerian Arabic clearly constitute a morphological system which lies outside of the derivational, ablaut-based system of Arabic morphology. Whereas ideophones in languages such as Lontomba (Congo), Gbeya (Central African Republic, Samarin 1966:87) and Tera (Nigeria, Newman 1968) are often derivable from verbs or other morphological classes, in Nigerian Arabic they represent an adjunct class with no etymological relation to other morphological classes (see section 4 below).[2]

In this paper we will describe the basic grammatical properties of Nigerian Arabic ideophones, using partly an *ad hoc* classification system, partly based on familiar linguistic levels, syntax, semantics, pragmatics and phonology.

[1] *ʾasmāʾ al-fiʿl*, '. . . nouns put [in place] of a verb and pointing to it [in meaning]' *Muqtaḍab* III, 202).

[2] For instance, in Gbeya (Samarin 1966:91) the ideophone *kutɛ kutɛ* 'softly' derives from the verb *kutɛɛ* 'see dimly'.

3. *Syntax*

3.1 *Instrumental vs. descriptive ideophones*

For an initial syntactic classification, we divide ideophones into two classes of unequal size. The first, instrumental ideophones, are those used to effect a change in the external context, *huyya* 'ward off a dog', *hōk* 'to scare off birds', *ʾish* 'shoo away chicken'. A much larger, descriptive class are those associated with a circumscribed lexical set, sometimes with a unique lexeme. These include ideophones such as (*ahamar*) *cu* 'very red', *parak* (*ke ǧīna hine*) 'we came directly here'. The ideophone *cu* occurs only with the lexeme *ahamar* 'red' and its morphological derivates (see below), while *parak* is limited to predicates describing goal-directed movement (*ǧa* 'come', *maša* 'go', *ǧara* 'run', *sawwag watīr* 'drive a car').

3.2 *Syntactic properties of ideophones*

Instrumental ideophones occur either alone, or if accompanied by further lexical material, will generally occur with an imperative verb and if so, the verb will be set off by a pause from the ideophone.

1. *hōk*, *ḍīr-u*
   ID fly-PL
   'Get on, fly off'

Of course, other imperative substitutes can occur, such as

2. *ʾiš*, *barra*
   ID outside
   'Away, outside [to children]!'

The pragmatics of such imperatives is beyond the scope of the present presentation.

Descriptive ideophones always collocate with a delimited set of lexemes, sometimes with a unique one. The class of lexemes with which they occur determines their sequences. Two main classes may be distinguished here. Those modifying adjectives will usually occur directly after the adjective, though a preadjectival position is also allowable:

3a. *al-alme* *hāmi* *co*
   DEF-water hot ID
   'The water is very hot'

3b.	*al-akil*	*co*	*hāmi*
	DEF-food	ID	hot

‘The food is hot’

but,

3c.	**co*	*al-akil*	*hāmi*
	ID	DEF-food	hot

‘The food is hot’

They also co-occur with another intensifying adverb.

3d.	*al-alme*	*hāmi*	*bilhēn*	*co*
	DEF-water	hot	very	ID

‘The water is very hot’

Other descriptive adjectives may be classified as predicate modifiers and while they generally occur on the fringes of a sentence, with a few exceptions, they may occur virtually anywhere in the sentence. In this respect they are like manner, time and some place adverbial elements.

4a.	*daxál*	*bu*	*lubb*	*al-hille*
	entered	ID	middle	DEF-city

‘I went right into the middle of the city’ (*bu* ID describing going deep into a place/object)

4b.	*daxál*	*lubb*	*al-hille*	*bu*
	entered	middle	DEF-city	ID

‘I went right into the middle of the city’

4c.	*bu*	*daxál*	*lubb*	*al-hille*
	ID	entered	middle	DEF-city

‘I went right into the middle of the city’

5a.	*rūs*	*an-akal-at*	*al-qalla*
	ID	PS-eat-F	DEF-grain

‘The grain got crunched up’ (*ruus* ID describing crunching sound)

5b.	*an-akal-at*	*al-qalla*	*rūs*
	PS-eat-f	DEF-grain	ID

‘The grain got crunched up’

5c.	*an-akal-at*	*rūs*	*al-qalla*
	PS-eat-F	ID	DEF-grain

‘The grain got crunched up’

In the following, the ideophone occurs before a topic, which, if it should occur, is generally the leftmost element in a sentence.

6.	*tilik*	*al-watīr*	*di*	*wasē-t-ha*	*sei*
	ID	DEF-car	DET	fix-you-it	really

‘You really fixed the car right up’

While most descriptive ideophones are positionally free, all are lexically restricted. At one extreme there are ideophones limited to one lexeme (or its family, see below). *co* in (3) above, for instance, only occurs with the adjective *hāmi*. Others are limited to a certain type of activity or situation. *parak* cited above occurs only with verbs of motion and goal, and so on.

The co-occurrence is between the ideophone and what may be termed a lexical family, not with a unique lexical form, where by lexical family is meant all related derivational forms based on a given stem. In (5) above *rūs*, describing a type of sound made while eating, occurs with a passive verb. It can equally occur with a normal active verb as in (7a) or a causative verb as in (7b).

7a.	*al-bagar*	*akal-an*	*al-qalla*	*rūs*
	DEF-cows	eat-F	DEF-grain	ID

‘The cows gnashed up the grain’

7b.	*rūs*	*akkal*	*al-bagar*	*al-qalla*
	ID	feed	DEF-cows	DEF-grain

‘He fed the grain to the cows, ruus’

Similarly with,

8a.	*al-iyāl*	*li’ib-o*	*fi*	*alme*	*cabaq*
	DEF-children	play-PL	in	water	ID

‘The children played splashing around in the water’

8b.	*la’’ab-t*	*al-iyāl*	*cabaq*	*fi*	*l-alme*
	play-I	DEF-children	ID	in	DEF-water

‘I made the children play splashing around water’

The lexical family includes all grammatical categories. For instance, the ideophone *cil* is restricted to the family ‘black’. This may be embodied in an adjective form, as in,

9a.	*al-gidir*	*da*	*azərag*	*cil*
	DEF-pot	this	black	ID

‘The pot is very black’

It may also be embodied in verbal forms:

9b.	*an-nār*	*zarrag-at*	*al-gidir*	*azərag*	*cil*
	DEF-fire	blacken-F	DEF-pot	black	ID

‘The fire made the pot very black’

9c. *al-gidir* *zarrag* *azərag* *cil*
DEF-pot blacken black ID
'The pot became very black'

as well as in a verbal noun.

9d. *tizirrig* *al-gidir* *cil* *da* *mi* *zēn*
blackening DEF-pot ID this not good
'Blackening the pot is not good'

In these contexts the association with 'blackness' may be satisfied anywhere in the sentence. Besides, (9b), for instance, one can have the following.

9e. *an-nār* *zarrag-at* *al-gidir* *cil*
DEF-fire black-F DEF-pot ID
'The fire made the pot black'

The verb *zarrag* 'become black' licenses the use of the ideophone *cil*.

It may, in fact, be too narrow a characterization to claim that any ideophone is restricted to a single lexical family. While *co*, for instance, is restricted (so far as we have determined) to *hāmi* 'hot' in its adjectival guise, in the appropriate context it may dispense with this support, as in (10b).

10a. *bi-fawwər* *al-alme* *hāmi* *co*
INDC-boil DEF-water hot ID
'He will boil very hot water'

10b. *bi-fawwər* *al-alme* *co*
INDC-boil DEF-water ID
'He boils water'

This is an issue which we leave unexplored, though it is obviously of interest to what extent the domain of co-occurrence of ideophones is determined by a single lexical family or group of lexical families, or by semantic features which are realized elsewhere in a sentence.

In theory there is no restriction on the number of ideophones which can occur in a clause.

11. *bi-mš-an* *cir* *giddām* *fi* *lubb* *al-hille* *bu*
INDC-go-theyF ID forward in middle DEF-city ID
'They [f.] marched right ahead into the middle of the city'

Practically, however, the occurrence of more than one ideophone per clause is rare. A check of 24 ideophones was run on two corpora, comprising about 70,000 Shuwa Arabic words. Of the 24 ideo-

phones, 10 occurred in the corpus, distributed in 25 tokens.[3] Two of them occurred in dependent clauses (one conditional, one temporal), the rest in main clauses, never more than one per clause. The clauses in which they occurred were short, with an average of 3.8 words per clause.

4. *Semantics and pragmatics*

Descriptive ideophones recall a certain sound or motion, or emphasize a quality or manner. They frequently are associated with certain types of sounds or movements, the sound of a small object falling into the water, or of a heavy object falling into water, for instance. Lacking a thorough-going semantic framework, we exemplify with a makeshift categorization the major semantic domains covered by ideophones.

Sounds

12. *al -waɖa* *hīl* *al- xarīf* *di* *alkallam-at* *tim*
    DEF-earth of DEF-rain this talk-F ID
    'The earth in the rainy season thunders 'tim''

13. *b-ihērit* *kirēt* *ke*
    INDC-hoe ID like
    'He is hoeing with a scraping-like sound'

Distance, place

14. *təs* *ke* *min* *gağiganna*
    ID just from gajiganna
    'Right up close to Gajiganna'

15. *b-uxuɖɖ-ū-ha* *dam* *fōg* *as-sarīr*
    INDC-put-PL.it ID on DEF-bed
    'They put it all in one place on top of the bed'

Time

16. *was* *nu-rūx*
    ID we-go
    'We go about daily'

17. *xaram-at* *buluk*
    'went out-F ID
    'She went out immediately'

[3] Excluding reduplicated and repeated ideophones.

Qualities

18. *amiyān* *tis*
blind ID
'completely blind'

19. *magaḷḷam* *tak*
cut off ID
'all leprous'

Manner of action

20. *bi-mš-an* *cirr* *giddām-ak*
INDC-go-F.PL ID before-you
'They [cattle] pass quickly before you'

21. *galbi-na* *cōy* *ke*
heart-ours ID so
'Our heart [is] upright [= very worried]' (cf. *hu wāgif cōy* 'He is standing upright')

Type of motion

22. *bi-šīl-ū-a* *kiɖak*
3-take-PL-it ID
'They snatch it up from the ground'

Limiters, border setters

23. *wehet-um* *sak*
alone-their.M ID
'completely alone'

Negative and modals

24. *aš-šumaliyīn* *xall-ō* *ḍur*
DEF-northerners left-PL.him ID
'The northerners left him deliberately [in prison]'

Certain ideophones occur only in negative clauses.

25. *bur* *ma* *ni-šīl-a*
ID not we-take-it
'We won't take it at all'

As ideophones are lexically restricted, combinations of lexeme + ideophone in some instances serve effectively as a derivational mechanism. There is, in Nigerian Arabic, no verb for 'to thunder' (Standard Arabic *raʿada*). *Alkallam tim* 'speak tim', in (12) above, effectively derives a predicate meaning 'thunder'. Ideophones describing a characteristic sound may collocate as direct object with the verb *sawwa* 'do', to describe the action.

26. *aɖ-ɖuyūr* *saww-an* *fur* *ke*
DEF-birds did-F.PL ID like
'The birds flew off with a whish'

27.
al-gafgal	*sawwa*	*gak*	*fi*	*t-tirāb*
DEF-gavgal	did	ID	in	DEF-ground

'The *gafgal* [a long, pointed instrument] went 'gak' in the ground'

Of the 163 ideophones we have recorded, 12 may be considered to share a single phonological form, to be homophonous. *Kar*, for instance, is associated with five meanings:

28. 'empty'
an- nās	*kar*	*šatt-o*	*min*	*as-sūg*
DEF-people	ID	disappear-PL	from	DEF-market

'The people disappeared completely from the market'

29. 'clear, straight'
al-lei	*kar*	*wāgi*	*yābis*
DEF-road	ID	straight	empty

'The road is clear straight'

30. 'sound of milking'
b-ihalb-u	*al -bagar*	*kar kar kar*
INDC-milk-PL	DEF-cows	ID

'They're milking the cows "kar"'

31. 'very dry, hard'
yābs-āt	*kar*
dry-F.PL	ID

'very dry'

32. 'extreme whiteness'
abiyaḍ	*kar*
white	ID

'very white'

Of course, if it could be independently shown that the concepts of 'whiteness, hardness, emptiness' have, in Nigerian Arabic semantics, a common basis, one could speak of extensions from a core meaning, rather than homophonous morphemes. The matter deserves further attention, but as an initial orientation we err towards overdifferentiation here.[4]

We have left the pragmatic context for the occurrence of ideophones out of the discussion. While out of context the use of the

[4] One might investigate the net of associations from the locus of *abiyaḍ* 'white'. *Kar* as an ideophone for the sound of milk may be associated via the white color of milk. *Abiyaḍ* is elsewhere associated with positive, good qualities, *kalāma abiyaḍ* 'his word is white [= correct]', *galba abiyaḍ* 'his heart is white [= he is a good person]'. This could, very speculatively, provide a link to 'straightness, clearness'.

ideophone describing hotness, *co*, would not be appropriate, a person putting a hot liquid to their lips, then putting it down and remarking '*co*' would be quite well understood. In fact, one can imagine extra-linguistic contexts where nearly any ideophone can be used either alone, or dissociated from its usual collocational partner(s). *Kirēt* in (13) above typically collocates with *hērat* 'cultivate', describing the sound a hoe makes digging soil. If people were making a racket outside one's house, cultivating the earth, one might complain to them with,

33a. *āzē-tū-na* *kirēt* *kirēt* *da*
bothering-you.PL-us ID that
'You're bothering us with that 'kireet' racket of yours'

or
33b. *kirēt* *(da)* *šunu*
ID that what
'What is this digging racket you're disturbing us with!'

or even
33c. *kirēt* *kirēt!*
'What a scraping racket!'

said with appropriate, disapproving intonation.

5. *Phonology*

In the following phonological counts, homophonous forms (see section 3) are counted only once. On the basis of this exclusion, there are 151 forms. Five of these are excluded from the count, as they have unique forms, for instance *kokkure* 'sound of the cock', *talingo* 'sound of jingling', *rididím* 'pattering sound' and *attarī* 'expression of surprise'. The remaining 146 forms have syllable structures as follows:

CV	5
CVC	75
CVCV	5
CVCVC	52
CVCCVC	9

While an adequate representation of the segmental properties of the forms would require comparison with the statistical properties of the language at large, statistics which we do not possess, it may be suggested that there are aspects of syllable structure peculiar to ideophones. These points include the following:

- At C_1 there are no less than 33 words beginning with *c*, as in *curub* 'pure, clear', *culdúm* 'sound of big object falling'. In other positions *c* occurs only 5 times. The total occurrences in ideophones, 38, is probably more than the occurrence of *c* in all other word classes of the language combined.
- Other 'non-native'[5] sounds also occur, though less frequently. *ɲ* occurs twice, e.g. *ɲan* 'sound of drizzling' and *p* four times, e.g. *parak* 'directly'.
- *l* occurs initially in only two ideophones (both *CVC, laŋ* 'very pure'), and *r* occurs only 5 times initially. On the other hand, these two sonorants account for 35% (N = 24) of C_2 in CVC ideophones, 45% (N = 64) of C_2 in CVCV(C) and 66% (N = 6) of C_2 in CVCCVC forms.
- Only four emphatic tokens are recorded among the ideophones, e.g. *ḍur* 'deliberately' and *kuṛaṣ* 'slaughter all/completely', *zaḍ* 'lying flat'.
- Nasals are probably underrepresented among ideophones (e.g. only 2 occurrences at C_1). In contrast to the language at large, with 10 occurrences, all in final position, is the most frequently-represented nasal among ideophones, *taraŋ* '[see] clearly'.
- Geminate consonants are exceedingly rare.
- Among the vowels, in CV(C) ideophones the vowels are overwhelmingly short and in CVCV(C) forms the initial vowel is always short, the second usually so. In disyllabic words, both vowels agree in height in 58 of the 66 instances (36 H-H, 22 L-L).
- *h* and *ʾ* occur only in instrumental ideophones for driving away animals, *huyya*.

On a feature-counting basis, prototypical syllable patterns can be given for the two largest classes, CVC and CVCV(C). Features with frequencies below 10% are not listed (i.e. are not considered prototypical). All figures are in percents.[6]

[5] *c* has a source from *š* in a few words, e.g. *catt* 'all' < Arabic *šattā* 'different kinds' (perhaps), and *t* in the eastern Nigerian dialect, *cāl* 'come!'< Arabic *taʿāl*. In most instances it does not have an Arabic etymology, however.

[6] Abbreviations: bil (bilabial) = *p, m, b, f, w*, alv (alveolar) = *t, d, n, s, z, r, l*, vel (velar) = *k, g, ŋ*, alv-pal (alveo-palatal) = *c, š, ɲ*, affricate = *c* [tš], *ǧ* [dž], liquid = *l, r*, vl = voiceless, vd = voiced.

Table 1. *Syllable patterns*

	C	V	C
Manner	stop = 47 affricate = 24	short= 88 H = 54 L = 46	liquid = 32 stop = 32 fricative = 18
Place	alv = 34 alv-pal = 31 vel = 15 bil = 14		alv = 47 vel = 30 bil = 18
Voicing	vl = 62 vd = 38		vd = 53 vl = 47

vd = 38 vl = 47

	C	V	C	V	C
Manner	stop = 58 affricate = 19 fricative = 18	short = 100 H = 65 L = 35	liq = 60 stop = 26	short = 97 H = 49 L = 51	stop = 70 nasal = 12 fricat = 10
Place	vel = 32 alv = 30 alv-pal = 21 bil = 16		alv = 68 bil = 18		vel = 57 alv = 29 bil = 12
Voicing	vl = 70 vd = 30		vd = 72 vl = 28		vl = 57 vd = 43

Very broadly speaking, the initial and final C positions of the CVC and CVCVC forms are roughly comparable, except that the C_3 is dominated by the stop feature. The C_2 position in the CVCVC forms, on the other hand, has stereotypical attributes distinctive from the other two positions (it is dominated by liquids). Without further discussion, it can be noted that in the $C_1VC_2C_3VC_4$ forms, C_2 and C_4 tend to be like C_2 of CVCVC forms, while C_1 and C_3 pattern like C_1 forms.

6. *Origin of ideophones in Nigerian Arabic*

The etymology of most ideophones is, at this point, obscure. A few are common to Fulfulde, Kanuri or Hausa, some of Shuwa Arabic's co-territorial languages, e.g. *sul* 'useless' = Kanuri *sul* 'emptiness', *kuṛaṣ* 'sound/action of slaughtering' = Kanuri *kuras* (same meaning), *cir* '(go) straight' = Fulfulde (Cameroon) *cir* 'straight'. We looked most

closely at Kanuri, a language Nigerian Arabic has been in intimate contact with for 500 years. Beyond the standard dictionary (Cyffer & Hutchison 1990), we checked each ideophone with Mr. Sherif Abdella, a graduate student in the *Department of Languages and Linguistics*, a Kanuri-dominant Nigerian Arabic bilingual. His examples more than doubled the number of comparable ideophones which we found on the basis of published material alone.

It appears that Nigerian Arabic shares at least 50 of its ideophones with Kanuri.[7] Another 6 or 7 are suggestive of relation, though without further comparative evidence no decision on relation can be made. For instance, in Nigerian Arabic *lis* describes blindness, *amyān lis* 'completely blind', while in Kanuri it describes something late at night (*kajiri lis kadiyo* 'he came late in the evening'), *ǧuŋ* in NA describes a bad smell, but in Kanuri a bad taste, and *subuk* in NA describes an object falling into a liquid, whereas Kanuri *suwuk* simply describes an object falling.

Given that the category of ideophones is innovative in Nigerian Arabic, one would expect that the direction of influence is from Kanuri. However, this needs to be substantiated by more than logical reasoning. It is interesting that the same sort of sound correspondences found elsewhere in the lexicon appears among the ideophones as well. Intervocalic *b* in most Kanuri dialects changes to *w*, which accounts for the correspondence NA *cabaq*, K *cawak* 'sound of water splashing' (the *q/k* correspondence is unexplained, however).[8] Whichever way the borrowing went here, it antedates the Kanuri sound shift.

It would be interesting to have a more comprehensive comparative overview of the etymology of Nigerian Arabic ideophones, as it bears on the question whether the concept of ideophones as a class was introduced in the language originally via lexical borrowings, or whether new lexemes were invented anew by bilinguals on the basis of their interpretations from their second languages (e.g. Fulfulde, Kanuri).

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[7] We do not include homophonous ideophones which do not share a meaning, such as Arabic *kar* 'straight, clear, empty, describing white, etc.' (see discussion above), Kanuri 'describes shaking'. Other examples include (forms same for both languages), *kaŋ* '[tie] tightly', *kal* '[be filled up/packed] completely', *fur* 'sound of wings fluttering'. Forms with slight phonological differences, but which we assume to be cognate include K *ciraŋ*, NA *caraŋ* '[repair] well', K *təŋ*, NA *diŋ* 'extremely [exhausted]', K *təbuk*, NA *dubuk* 'extremely [thick, fat]'.

[8] In a non-ideophone, e.g. NA *darkuba*, K *darkuwa* 'two-wheeled cart'.

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NEGATIONS IN THE DIALECT OF ES-SALṬ, JORDAN

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1. *Introduction*

1.1 *Negations*

Negations belong to the diachronically most dynamic areas of the linguistic structure of Arabic. Thus, the system of negations in Classical Arabic clearly mirrors a period of transition during which a major innovation, the use of the rhetorically used interrogative pronoun *mā* as a negative particle, was gaining ground at the expense of the older, common-Semitic *lā*. Classical Arabic negative particles such as *lam* and *lan* very early disappeared from living speech, and *laysa* soon followed, only leaving insignificant remnants to our time. Later on, the powerful progress of *mā* was followed by a development of parallel nature: as soon as the originally more or less emphatic, stylistically marked *mā* became unmarked, a new stylistically marked form, the split-morpheme negation using the afformative *-š* developed and probably in a relatively short time spread to a vast area between Morocco and the southern part of Greater Syria. As different negative constructions occur frequently, they in many areas are typologically prominent features. As a dynamic and complex system, they constitute an intriguing subject of linguistic study.[1]

The negations in the dialect spoken in the town of es-Salṭ and its neighbourhood were not chosen as the subject of this article on the

[1] It is therefore small wonder that Anton Spitaler in the mid-1960s suggested them as the subject for Manfred Woidich's dissertation, to continue the comparative dialect studies successfully introduced by Wolfdietrich Fischer (*Die demonstrativen Bildungen der neuarabischen Dialekte*, Diss. Erlangen 1953/1959) and Hans-Rudolf Singer (*Neuarabische Fragewörter*, Diss. Erlangen 1958). It soon appeared that merely the Egyptian Arabic negations were a material big enough to fill the pages of Woidich's dissertation (*Negation und negative Sätze im Ägyptisch-Arabischen*, Diss. München 1968). In a recent publication the negation in Maghrebine Arabic is dealt with in six contributions (Chaker & Caubet 1996).

strength of some unusual traits or idiosyncratic developments. Rather, they constitute a system typical of a mixed dialect displaying both sedentary and Bedouin elements, as well as developments characteristic of a society living in a rapid urbanization process. Earlier on, I have published mainly narrative texts representing the bedouinizing variety of speech used in traditional narrative style in the area, and discussed the typological nature of this dialect (Palva 1992, 1994). However, no systematic description of the dialect has been published thus far. This article is based on my recordings and written notes taken during different periods of fieldwork and visits to the area in 1965, 1970, 1976, 1977, 1979, 1981, and 1992.

1.2 *Es-Salṭ and its neighbourhood: historical background*

The town of es-Salṭ lies in the Transjordanian mountains about 20 km east of the river Jordan and about 25 km northwest of ʿAmmān, the capital of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Es-Salṭ is the administrative centre of the governorate of al-Balqāʾ. In 1220, during the later Ayyubids, a fort was built on the hill overlooking the town, and Ḥesbān had to give way to es-Salṭ as the chief town of al-Balqāʾ (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1923:67; Peake 1958:77, n. 6). At the beginning of the Ottoman rule, the condition of the area east of the river Jordan was chaotic. Unprotected cultivated areas were freely raided by Bedouins, and only the largest villages were able to protect themselves. In the whole district of al-Balqāʾ, es-Salṭ was the only one that could look after itself; all the other villages were deserted (Peake 1958:86). According to the Ottoman assessment rolls from the year 1596/97, es-Salṭ was the only market centre in al-Balqāʾ. The number of inhabitants in the whole Transjordan area was not more than 51,000, the majority of which lived in ʿAǧlūn (Hütteroth 1978:22). In the same assessment rolls the names of two quarters in es-Salṭ, *Maḥallat al-ʿAwāmila* and *Maḥallat al-ʾAkrād*, are attested for the first time (Dāʾūd 1994:238 and references in n. 2), a piece of information of relevance for the history of the sedentary-type dialect of the town.

J.L. Burckhardt, who in June/July 1811 visited es-Salṭ, mentions the town as “the only inhabited place in the province of Belka”. According to him, the town was strong enough to defend itself, and it did not pay *xūwa* tribute to Bedouin tribes, except to the powerful Bani Ṣaxar. With other neighbouring tribes the people of es-Salṭ

are reported to have been on good terms (Burckhardt 1822:352). Burckhardt adds an interesting linguistic notice: "their language is the true Bedouin dialect" (Burckhardt 1822:351). Unfortunately, he did not give any linguistic details, and we can only guess that his impression was due to some striking deviations from the Syro-Palestinian sedentary dialect type, and that Burckhardt identified these as Bedouin features.

During the mid-19th century, Transjordan was in a state of anarchy, and due to tribal wars, the population decreased considerably. At the end of the 1860s, the Turks restored the order in al-Balqāʾ and established a Qāʾimmaqām at es-Salṭ under the direct orders of the Mutaṣarrif of Nāblus. In the subsequent decades the region was gradually pacified, and agriculture was greatly expanded. Peasants immigrated to the area of es-Salṭ from Palestine, Mādaba was resettled by Christian immigration from el-Karak in 1880,[2] and from 1876 onwards, Circassian immigrants built for themselves villages near the desert fringe. In 1878 they resettled the ancient towns of Jaraš and ʿAmmān, and in 1880 they founded the village of Wād es-Sīr in the immediate vicinity of ʿAmmān. In the neighbourhood of es-Salṭ, the only village to have Circassian immigrants was ʿĒn Ṣwēliḥ (Dāʾūd 1994:207–221).[3] In addition, Turcoman immigrants settled in the region in the 1860s, in the villages of er-Rummān, ʿĒn Ṣwēliḥ, el-Ḥummar, and Ṣāfūṭ.

Around the year 1880 the town with the surrounding villages had no more than about 8,000 inhabitants, but in the subsequent decades the number increased rapidly, due to improved security and growing trade, which drew many immigrants from Palestine and Syria. In 1912/13 the estimated figure was as high as 20,000, or almost half of the sedentary population of the whole province of es-Salṭ, which included ʿAmmān and Mādaba as well as the villages in their surroundings, while the number of Bedouin living in the province was around 56,000 (Dāʾūd 1994:231). With the creation of the Transjordanian emirate in 1921/22, the development took a new course, and es-Salṭ declined. Immigration to the town ceased, and many Salṭis emigrated to ʿAmmān, the new capital city, which at

[2] This was the so-called exodus of the ʿAzīzāt; for a detailed account, see Jaussen (1948:417–432).

[3] Peake (1958:222) dates the Circassian settlement at Ṣwēliḥ in 1905.

that date was a hamlet with no more than ca. 2,400 inhabitants (Wilson 1987:55f.).

About 95 percent of the inhabitants of es-Salṭ and its surroundings are Muslims. The three larger groups among them are el-Krād, el-ʿAwāmle, and el-Qṭēšāt; these are very heterogeneous as concerns the genealogies of the clans belonging to them. Among the groups, el-Qṭēšāt, whose forefather according to the tradition came from Hebron about the year 1600, seems to be the most homogeneous. There are, however, two clans attached to them who claim to be offshoots of the al-Ǧawf Bedouin. El-Krād for the most part hail from Palestine, but there are clans which claim descent from ʿAǧlūn and el-Karak; the forefather of one clan is related to have come from the Ḥiǧāz, one clan claims descent from the Šammar Bedouin in Naǧd, and one from the Wild ʿAli of the ʿAnazi confederation. Many of the clans of the ʿAwāmle group are of Palestinian origin, but there are two clans of Iraqi descent, one from eš-Šōbak, one from Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ in the Ḥiǧāz, and one from Naǧd. In addition, one clan claims descent from the old Bani Kalb tribe; it is related that during the Abbasid caliphate they moved from al-Ǧawf to ʿAǧlūn. From there the tribe was dispersed in the 18th century in different directions, and one section came to es-Salṭ (Peake 1958:178–180).

About five or six percent of the population of the governorate of es-Salṭ are Christians; in the town of es-Salṭ the percentage is a little higher. Two of the villages of the area, el-Fḥēṣ and Ṣāfūṭ, have traditionally been mainly Christian. The majority of the Christians of the governorate belong to the Greek Orthodox Church, but there are also Greek Catholic (Uniate), Latin, and Protestant Christians. As to their origins they are an almost as heterogeneous group as the Muslims, but among them there are more numerous clans of markedly sedentary Syro-Palestinian origin. Thus, two clans hail from Lebanon, three from Damascus, and one from Nāblus. Three clans claim descent from the ancient Ġassān tribe, and the remaining seven have according to their traditions come from different parts of Ḥōrān and the Transjordanian area (Dāʾūd 1994:221–227; Peake 1958:180–182).

In spite of the often doubtful correctness of the traditions of the clans, the general picture given by them is of substantial value for the historical setting of the local dialect. The little kernel of the local population was during the Ottoman period outnumbered by sedentary and semi-nomadic immigrants mainly from the Greater Syrian area. Some of the newcomers were of Peninsular Bedouin origin. It

is also important to take into account the fact that the modern settlement of most of al-Balqāʾ is of recent date: in the first half of the 19th century there were no settled villages in the neighbourhood of es-Salṭ, and during the latter part of the century not more than a dozen villages were settled. Thus, the surroundings of es-Salṭ have a mixed population composed of peasant immigrants, mainly from es-Salṭ, some from ʿAǧlūn and Ḥōrān, and recently settled Bedouin, for the most part belonging to two tribes, the ʿAdwān and Bani ʿAbbād, the latter being in fact a very heterogeneous confederation. It is a matter of course that the development during the independent Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan since 1946 has further complicated this picture: the influx of Palestinians has substantially increased and the proximity of the rapidly growing capital city has led to intensified contacts between different population groups in the country.

2. *Reflexes of* lā

2.1 *Isolated negation*

The isolated negation in Salṭi is *laʾ* 'no!', most often occurring as an answer to a question, e.g. *baʿdo nāyim?—laʾ, hassāʿ bīǧi* 'Is he still sleeping?' 'No, he's coming in a moment.'; *gallo laʾ, ḥāsib inte* 'He said, "No, it's you who should pay"'; *gāl laʾ, xálaṣ* 'He said, "No, that's it!"'. It is also used rhetorically with *willa: ṣaḥīḥ willa laʾ?* '[is it] true or not?'. From the phonemic point of view, this is the only case of the glottal stop occurring in final position in the genuine dialect and having phonemic value.[4] As a matter of fact, the glottal stop here is not equivalent of zero, as is evident from the contrasts

[4] The glottal stop seems also to exist on the morphological-lexical level. Thus, although it is optional in items such as *ʾakl, ʾabb, ʾumm*, and *ʾism*, the nominal pattern has its effect on the phonetic surface level: when used with the definite article, these words are not pronounced **lakl, *labb, *lumm*, or **lism*, like words beginning with a vowel/semivowel, e.g., *lūlād/liwlād/əlulād/əliwlād; līyām/əlīyām*, or two consonants, e.g., *ləfḥēṣ* n.l., *ləmġāra* 'the cave'. Instead, if not preceded by a vowel, they begin with a prothetic vowel: *əlʾak(ə)l, əlʾabb, əlʾumm, əlʾis(ə)m*. The present-day vernacular speech naturally abounds in recent loans from Standard Arabic in which the glottal stop is normally pronounced by all speakers, e.g., *masʾale, masʾūl*. It can be assumed that the glottal stop through this lexical interference will soon be restituted as an independent phoneme.

/laʾ/ vs. /lā/, e.g. *lā yā* . . . 'don't say' (dubitative negation, often used with a suspended vocative particle) and /laʾ/ vs. /lah/, e.g. in the expression of dismay: *lah* 'oh no!'. It must of course be admitted that the distinctions between the contrasting pairs are not purely phonetic, but the different negations are accompanied by conventional gestures characteristic of their own.[5] When immediately followed by *waḷḷa*, the form is *lā*, e.g. *lā waḷḷa mā fī kahraba* 'no, by God, there is no electricity'. In this case, too, *lā* often conveys a dubitative meaning: *lā waḷḷa* 'unbelievable!', 'you don't say so!'.

2.2 *Coordinated negation*

Besides in isolated position, *lā* is used in coordinated negations followed by the negative particle *wala* (clearly *wála*, not *w-lā*), which, as pointed out by Woidich for his Egyptian material, must be regarded as one word:[6] *lā báʿarfu l-xōf wala báʿarfu šēy* 'they didn't feel fear, they weren't afraid of anything'; *hāḏa lā bigra wala biktib* 'this man could neither read nor write'; *kān gabil mā fī lā duwyāt wala dawa wala ṭabīb wala ʾiši* 'formerly there were no medicines, no drug, no doctor, nothing'; *ʾawwal lā bīš lā ġāzāt wala frān* 'formerly there were no gas cookers and no ovens'; *lā šaġġalha lā ʿala ġāz wala kahraba* 'he didn't connect it, neither to gas nor to electricity'; *mā fīha lā kahraba wala ʾiši* 'there was neither electricity nor anything else'. The particle *wala* also occurs as a negation of individual words, e.g. *wala ʾiši* 'nothing [at all]'; *wala kilme* 'not a word'; *wala wāḥad* 'not a single one'. These more or less 'absolute' negations are often preceded by *lāʾ* or a negative verbal clause, but this is not always the case, e.g. *wala wāḥad ʾaǧa* 'not a single one came'.

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[5] The gesture accompanying *laʾ* in Damascus is described by Grotzfeld (1964:131) as a "ruckartiges Rückwerfen des Kopfes bzw. Anheben der Augenbrauen".

[6] As in Palestine, Ḥōrān, and Egypt, see Bauer (1926:124); Schmidt & Kahle (1918:92*); Blau (1960:196–198); Cantineau (1946:388); Woidich (1968:152f., for the analysis of *wala*, 73, n. 4); Hinds & Badawi (1986) s.v. *wlʾ*; vs. *w-lā/wla* in Syrian cities and Lebanon, see Barthélemy (1935–1955) s.v. *lʾ*; Grotzfeld (1964:131f.); Feghali (1928:215–217); Abu-Haidar (1979:111–113); Jiha (1964:181); *w-lā/wa-lā* Aleppo, see Sabuni (1980:202). If the descriptions are accurate, the two variants have a different history.

2.3 *Prohibitive*

As in most Arabic dialects east of Egypt, the prohibitive is rendered by the inherited construction *lā* + subjunctive, i.e., imperfect without the indicative present/common present morpheme *b-*, e.g. *la tgūl* 'don't say'. The negative particle is often lengthened with the originally affective afformative *-š* < *ši* (< *šayʾ*), e.g. *la tgūliš* or *la tgulš* 'don't say'; *haḏāka gāl laʾ, la toxuḏš* 'That man said, "No, don't take!"'. In the split-morpheme negation, the main accent regularly falls on the latter part of the phrase, and the negative particle becomes proclitic. Consequently, also the semantic load tends to shift to the latter component, which thus may attain the status of an independent morpheme, and as a result, the original negative particle may become redundant. Its phonetic shape loses importance, and it may drop its initial consonant or be completely omitted: *ʾa-tgūliš; tgulš, tguliš*. It has to be pointed out that because the consonant following the negative particle in the prohibitive is always *t*, the shortening or omission of the negative particle is a phenomenon obviously not quite identical with forms such as (ʾ)*a baʿrifš* in central Lebanon and (ʾ)*a baʿrif* in northern Lebanon and on the Syrian coast, which Feghali (1928:221f.) explained as results of dissimilation.[7] In view of the Salṭi forms, it is questionable, however, whether this explanation is correct. Further examples in which the shortening of the negative particle cannot be attributed to dissimilation are given by Bauer (1926:122f.) from Palestine: *a-tḳaṭṭʿūš ʿād ʿinab!* 'don't cut grapes any more'; *tḳuṣṣiš warāi* 'don't tell stories behind me'.

The negative particle *mā* sometimes appears in cases in which it is difficult to decide whether they should be interpreted as prohibitives of the kind well known from Egypt, Palestine, southern Lebanon, etc., or if they should be understood as more or less categorical orders, as in the following instance: *ʿamado ḥawwalo min aḥmad labuṭrus, gallo ʾiḏa binādi ʿalēk ʾaḥmad* [. . .] *ma truddiš* 'He baptized him,

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[7] In Lebanon and the Syrian coast, the shortening or omission mostly concerns the negative particle *mā/ma*. According to Feghali (1928:221f.), here the proximity of the two labials /m/ and /b/ leads to dissimilation. *la* is not omitted in prohibitive expressions (Feghali 1928:89). For more examples see also Abu-Haidar (1979:110–114 *la* not omitted in prohibitive) and Behnstedt (1997, Map 225). In Lower Galilee, the use of *la* in prohibitive is optional, e.g. *la-taʿlaqš maʿha* 'don't interfere in their affairs' (Palva 1965:138.–1); *tinsāš* 'don't forget' (Palva 1965:150.–11).

changed his name from Aḥmad to Buṭrus, and said to him, "If someone calls you Aḥmad, don't answer/you must not answer."'.[8]

Side by side with the inherited prohibitive construction, there is a richly nuanced form rendered by the particle *balāš: balāš itgūl hēk* 'don't say so'; *balāš itgūl la-ḥada* 'you ought not to tell anybody'; *balāš irū(ḥ) ʿa-l-madrase l-yōm* 'he'd better not go to school today'; *balāš tiḥči maʿ ā̃* 'don't talk to him'. As pointed out by Woidich (1968:174–178), this function is plausibly explained as the result of a development from the etymological 'without anything' (< *bi-lā šayʾ*) to a modal negation first used with infinitives and nouns, and, after a reinterpretation, to a negative particle proper which can also negate a finite verb. Examples of the use of the particle with an adverb or a noun in Salṭi are the following: *balāš hassāʿ* 'not now'; *balāš il-asāmi* 'let's not mention the names'; *balāš iṣ-ṣūra* 'you'd better not take a picture'. A funny example of the subtle modality of the particle was my host's sympathizing reaction, when my planned visit to the Bani Ḥasan tribe fell through: *balāš il-bī ʾetš* 'you can drop the B.H.', that is, in the function described in Hinds & Badawi (1986, s.v. *blš* 1b) as a "retraction of something previously stipulated". It also functions both as a preposition ('without') and adverbially ('for free'). Thus, *balāš maṣāri* 'no money is needed' can also mean 'without money', when it is synonymous with *bidūn* (*bdūn, min dūn*): *xuḏha balāš* 'take it for free'. After a further reinterpretation it is used as a noun meaning 'nothing': *b-il-balāš* 'for free'.[9]

2.4 *Admonitive* la-

The construction *lā* plus imperfect without *b-* is also used in a kind of admonitive function, meaning 'lest', 'that not' (Feghali 1928:218). In this case the only form of the negative particle is the proclitically shortened *la-: šwayy šwayy la-tigaʿ* 'carefully that you'll not fall'; *rūḥ la-tiʾaxxar* 'go lest you be late'; *la-ykūn saraṭān* 'let's hope it is not cancer'.

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[8] This case may well be compared with Lower Galilee, where the negative particle in prohibitive as a rule is *lā* (optional), but exceptions occur: *bass ma-taḥkīš wa-la kilme ʿarabi ʾabadan* 'but don't speak a single word of Arabic' (Palva 1965:136.–9).

[9] Cf. Barthélemy (1935–1955), s.v. *blʾš: fəlbalāš* 'en pure perte' (Jerusalem).

2.5 *lōla*

A clause indicating a hypothetical event in the past is introduced by *lōla* (< *law lā*) 'if it were not for', 'but for', in the following instance followed by an infinitive: *lōla ǧayyti bōkilha* 'if I hadn't come, it [the hyena] would have eaten her'; *lōla ǧayyti mn-il-ġōr* '[this would have happened] if I hadn't come from the Jordan Valley'. Synonymously with *lōla, lōma* and *laww-ma* are used: *laww-ma haddu s-sarāya kān ʾaḥsan l-il-balad* 'if they hadn't torn down the castle, it would have been better for the town'.

3. *Reflexes of* mā

3.1 *Negation of declarative verbal clauses*

In declarative verbal clauses, the perfect and imperfect are most often negated by *mā*, e.g. *mā sagṭat ʾilla sant il-wāḥad u-ṯalāṯīn* '[the tree] did not fall down before the year thirty-one'; *mā gidru yigfu gbālo* 'they couldn't stand against him'; *mā kānu yistāḏinu*[10] *yiḥku maʿāhum* 'they were not allowed to speak to them'; *ʾiḥna mā binṭīḥ ʿa-l-ġōr* 'we don't go [down] to the Jordan Valley'; *mā bugʿud fī maḥall wāḥad* 'it does not stay at one place'; *hāḏa ʾiši ma mnaʿrifo* 'this is something that we don't know'. Both in the perfect and the imperfect, the split-morpheme negation *mā . . . -(i)š* is often used, too. In contrast with for instance Cairo Arabic, the negative afformative *-(i)š* has still preserved some of its affective meaning, which implies that the split-morpheme negation, in spite of its high frequency, is the stylistically marked variant. Examples: *ma gidrūš yitḥammalu* 'they couldn't [possibly] support themselves'; *ma ḏalliš wakt* 'I don't have time [at all]'; *ma ḏalliš awwal bī ḥallāgīn* 'in the past there were no barbers [at all]'; *lēš ma ṭiḥtišš?* 'why didn't you [sg. m.] go down [to water]?'; *w-ʾakalha w-ma ʾaṭʿamš il-xūri wala šagfit laḥim* 'so he ate it and didn't give the priest even a bit of flesh'; *ma-ʿarfišš* 'I don't know'; *ma baʿrifš inklīzi* 'I don't know English [at all]'; *ma btaʿrifūš* 'she did not recognize him'; *ma yxallūš yilbas* 'they didn't let him put on'; *ṭabʿan ma ylāgīš ǧawāb* 'of course, he didn't get an answer'. As in the case of the

[10] Probably a koinè-form.

prohibitive, the first element of the split-morpheme negation is often omitted, which usually renders the meaning affective: *gallo sakkir ṯummak! baḥkīš maʿak baḥki maʿ ummak* 'He said to him, "Shut up! I don't speak to you, I speak to your mother"'; *gallo btaʿrifišš ʾinno ʿadd iṭ-ṭayyārāt mamnūʿ?* 'He said, "Don't you know that it is forbidden to count airplanes?"'.

The optional omission of *ma* in verbal clauses seems to be a phenomenon which occurs in a rather restricted area. Thus, it is not indicated in Behnstedt's *Sprachatlas* (1997, Map 225), nor does Cantineau (1946:389–391) mention it for Ḥōrān. Also in Baskinta it occurs before the *b*-imperfect only (Abu-Haidar 1979:110); both examples given by Bauer for Palestine display the same form (Bauer 1926:122: *baftkirš, biḳdarūš*), and the cases found in Blanc's Druze texts are similar, too (Blanc 1953:82.16: *btiġdarš*; 86.11: *biḥibbiš*; 97.8: *biswašš*). In Lower Galilee it, however, is common, e.g. *tiġdarš tiṣlaḥḥin* 'you may never reconcile them'; *tiġdarš tistanna balā́* 'she cannot be away from him'. In most cases, the negated verb admittedly is a *b*-imperfect, e.g. *lēš inti btīǧiš?* 'why don't you come?'; *ṭabʿan bikfīš* 'of course it is not enough'; *balumíš* 'I don't blame'; *baġdarš* 'I cannot' (Palva 1965:118.2; 120.17; 122.12; 128.31; 142.2; 156.–4). The same holds good for rural Central Palestinian, for instance the dialect spoken in Sīlt el-Ḥārṯīye 9 km northwest of Ǧenīn, e.g. *ʾana babeʿeš* 'I don't sell'; *bestḥ[e]nneš* 'they [fem.]) aren't embarrassed'; *ṭaʿem ezzēt betġayyreš fīha* 'in it the taste of the olive oil does not change' (Mohidin 2001:254.10; 256.–1; 258.5).

In the Salṭi example *bēn-ma ʾaǧi w-bēn-ma ʾaǧīš* 'it was touch and go whether to come or not', the omission of the negative particle *ma* may be due to the sharply expressed contrast *ʾaǧi* vs. *ʾaǧīš*, but also to euphonic reasons (< *bēn-ma ma-ʾaǧīš*).

3.2 *mā . . . Ø*

When the negation is underscored by words such as *ʿumr, waḷḷa*, or the like, the split-morpheme negation cannot be used: *ʿumri ma ruḥt ʿa-maṣ(i)r* 'I have never been to Egypt'; *waḷḷa ma btaʿrif wēno?* 'don't you [really] know where he is?'; *wa-ḥaqq rabbikum al-ʾaʿla*[11]—*ʾinno mā fīku wāḥad min hōn biṭlaʿ ʾilla ma bidfaʿ l-iḥsāb* 'I swear by your Lord,

[11] This is a *fuṣḥā*-form.

the highest, that no one of you gets out of here unless he pays the bill'. In this respect Salṭi does not differ from comparable dialects. Similarly *ma saddag-* (*s* < *ṣ*, as is common in the root *ṣdq*) never takes the afformative *-š*, probably because it is a fixed idiom used in narrative style, e.g. *ma saddagu w-hū yīǧi l-inklīz sant iṯ-ṯamanṭāʿš* 'as it was, in the year eighteen, the Englishmen came [at last]'.

3.3 *Negation of bidd-/badd-*

The pseudoverbal character of *bidd-/badd-* clearly becomes apparent from its negation pattern, which follows that of the perfect and the imperfect in declarative clauses, i.e., it is negated by the particle *mā* or, more often, by the split-morpheme negation. With the suffixed personal pronoun of the 1st. pers. sg. it has the forms *mā biddi, ma biddīš, ʾa-biddīš*, and *biddīš*. The forms with the 2nd. pers. sg. suffixes display a stage of transition from the 'genuine', older type of the local dialect to a newer, leveled type. The older-type forms are *biddkīš* (masc. suff.) and *biddčīš* (fem. suff.). Because the affrication of /k/ is commonly suppressed, the latter form most often appears as *biddkīš*, i.e., the gender contrast has become neutralized. On the other hand, the koinè-form *biddákiš/biddakš* (masc. suff.) tends to replace the old-type form. Therefore it can be anticipated that the morphological balance will soon be restored and the forms will be *biddákiš/biddakš* (masc. suff.) vs. *biddkīš* (fem. suff.).

In the adjacent areas, the *Ø . . .-š* negation is frequent at least in Galilee, e.g. *baddušš, baddiyš, ddušš* (Druzes; Blanc 1953:83.10;97.17; 102.–3); *biddúš, biddīš, biddhinníš* (Lower Galilee; Palva 1965:114.13; 142.17; 152.12).

3.4 *The nominal negation* miš

The nominal negation *miš* is regularly used to negate the predicate of a nominal clause, an individual word, a prepositional phrase, or an adverb: *miš maʿgūl ha-l-ḥaki hāḏa* 'this does not make sense'; *ʾana miš fahmān ʿalḗ* 'I don't understand him'; *miš min ha-ṭ-ṭūle* 'not that long'; *miš miṯl il-yōm* 'not like today'; *miš miṯl izlām il-yōm* 'not like the men of today'; *miš bass iblād il-ʾurdun* 'not only in Jordan'; *miš hēk?* 'isn't it so?' The negated individual word may also be a verbal clause: *ʾana miš gutlak?* 'didn't I tell you?'; *ʾana miš ʿallamtak lā tikḏibišš* 'didn't I teach you that you shouldn't tell lies?' This analytic structure mainly

occurs in affective contexts; a typical example of this from the adjacent areas is the following, recorded in Central Palestine: *ya naʿīlīn el-wāldēn, meš ʾašūf wāḥad* 'Curse your parents! I don't see anyone!' (Mohidin 2001:254.2).

3.5 *Negation of preposition plus suffixed pronoun*

Preposition plus suffixed pronoun is negated with *mā, mā . . .-š*, or *Ø . . .-š*: *ʾiḥna ma maʿnāš maṣāri* 'we don't have money'; *w-it̠-t̠alāt̠e ṭafrānīn, yaʿni mit̠il-ma ṣṣīr maʿhummušš walā́ girš* 'and those three were penniless, as it was, they didn't have a piaster [in their pockets]' (here the final vowel of *walā* is rhetorically stressed). Although the suffixed pronoun of the 3rd. pers. masc. sg. normally is *-o*, in the negated form it may be replaced by the independent pronoun: *maʿhūš maṣāri* 'he doesn't have money'; compare the copula *mahūš* 'he is not'. The widespread *maʿlēš/maʿlešš* 'never mind' is commonly used in Salṭi; on the synchronic level it can be defined as a particle rather than as a negated prepositional phrase.

'There is not' in genuine Salṭi is normally rendered by *mā bī, ma bīš, ʾa-bīš*. In the first-mentioned variant, the main accent lies on the negative particle. Variants other than these are, however, very common. Among them, the frequently used *ma fišš*, as well as the less frequent *ʾa fišš*, are probably koinè-forms, whereas *mā fī* is a bedouinizing form: *yaʿni ʿa-ḥsāb aḷḷa maʿnāto ma fišš maṣāri—yaʿni ma yidfaʿūš maṣāri* 'on God's account; it means there was no money, they wouldn't pay [money]'; *ʾa fišš ʿindo kahraba* 'he didn't have electricity'; *mā fī ġēr iznād* 'he had only a flint'; *mā fī ʿindak t̠allāǧāt?* 'do you have refrigerators?'. In coordinated negations, *lā* is substituted for *mā: ʾawwal lā bīš lā ġāzāt wala frān* 'formerly there were no gas cookers and no ovens'.

A comparison with other dialects in the Greater Syrian dialect area discloses intriguing affinities. On the Syrian coast and its hinterland, 'there is not' is usually rendered by *á fī*, in most of Ḥōrān and the central area between Damascus and Aleppo, by *mā fī*, whereas the Bedouin dialects of the Syrian desert make use of *mā bī*. The most interesting point of comparison is *ma bīš*, used in the oases of Palmyra, Suxne, and il-Qarītēn (Behnstedt 1997, Map 226). This might be suspected as a trait borrowed from Bedouin dialects. However, this is highly improbable. It is worth noting that the old sedentary dialect of el-Karak displays the variants *mā fī* and *mā bī*

(Palva 1989:240) of which the latter is not used in any Bedouin dialect in the neighbourhood and must therefore be an old sedentary form. Consequently, the variants *mā bī, ma bīš*, and *ʾa-bīš* in Salṭi can with good reason be regarded as evidence of an old sedentary dialect, in this feature akin with other sedentary dialects spoken in the eastern parts of Greater Syria.

3.6 *Negation of the indefinite pronoun* wāḥad

The indefinite pronoun *wāḥad* [masc.], *waḥade* [fem.] 'someone' is used both substantivally and adjectivally in declarative clauses. In interrogative and conditional clauses as well as after negation, it has the invariable forms *ḥada* and *ḥadd* 'someone', 'anyone', e.g., *bī ḥada fi d-dār?* 'anybody home?'; *laʾ, ʾa-bīš ḥadd/ḥada* 'no, there isn't anyone'; *laʾ, wala ḥada* 'no, not anyone'. When used as the subject of a verbal clause, *ḥada* is regularly negated with the split-morpheme negation: *ma ḥadāš ʾağa* 'no one came'; *ma ḥadāš yiḥči maʿắ ʿarabi* 'no one would speak Arabic to him'.

3.7 *Negative copulas*

The negative copulas used in negative nominal clauses have the following two series in Salṭi: series 1: *manīš, mantīš, mantīš, mahūš, mahīš; maḥnāš, mantūš, mantinnišš, mahummūš* (*mahummušš, hummu miš*), *mahinnišš*; series 2: *māni/māna, mante, manti, māhu, māhi; maḥna, mantu, mantin, māhum, māhin*. In Salṭi, series 1 with its originally affective negative afformative is more frequent, whereas for instance Karaki only uses series 2 (Palva 1989:240). The Salṭi series 1 displays great similarity with Central and Southern Palestinian rural dialects as well as those spoken in Ḥōrān. The most interesting detail, comparable with *biddkīš* above, is the 2nd. pers. sg. masc. In Salṭi it is *mantīš*, i.e., similar with its feminine equivalent, whereas Ḥōrān has *məntāš* (cf. *ʾənt/ʾənte*), and Central Palestinian rural dialects *mantāš/mántiš* (Cantineau 1946:198; Bauer 1926:124). The choice of /ī/ or /ā/ obviously reflects the unestablished phonemic status of the final *-e* of *ʾinte*. Phonemically, all final vowels are long, but when *-e* in this case is phonetically lengthened, the result is not [e:], but either [a:] or [i:], which seems to imply that it is identified with established long phonemes, either /a:/ or /i:/. As a result, in Ḥōrān the gender contrast has been preserved, whereas in Salṭi it has become neutralized.

3.8 *Expression of semantic vagueness*

Semantic vagueness is frequently expressed by repeating a word and negating it with the particle *mā*, e.g. *ṭābat ič-čawa w-bīha dibis u-ma dibis* 'the cauterized wound healed up when it was treated with sirup and other things'; *ǧābūlhum zayy-ma tgūl kifta ʾaww laḥme ma laḥme w-la ʾāxírihi*[12] 'they brought them let's say meat balls, or some other sort of flesh, and so on'; *tagdīmāt hadāya d̲ahab w-maṣāri ma maṣāri w-ha-l-ʾiši hād̲a* 'offerings, gifts of gold, money and other things like that'; *maḥkame yaʿni w-ma maḥkame* 'it was a court, I mean, a court or the like'.

4. *Conclusions*

The negative constructions used in es-Salṭ in many cases display several variants. This is only natural in an area which has a kernel of old sedentary population having various backgrounds, and which has during many centuries been in close contact with neighbouring Bedouin tribes. Typologically and historically, the central issue is that about the split-morpheme negations. In the adjacent areas, they are not used in the south (Palva 1989:240), in Ḥōrān they are optional variants,[13] and in Palestine proper they dominate.[14] In Bergsträsser's *Sprachatlas*, es-Salṭ is left outside the area where split-morpheme negations are used in verbal clauses; the nominal negations were not surveyed. This could lead to the conclusion that the split-morpheme negations are recent borrowings or have during the last century become substantially more common in the area. The last-mentioned development may—at least partly—be true, but a comparison with old sedentary eastern Syrian dialects such as those of Palmyra, Suxne, and il-Qarītēn, as well as the sedentary dialect spoken in Ḥōrān, shows that the split-morpheme negation in Salṭi cannot plausibly be regarded as a recent borrowing from Palestinian dialects. Together

[12] This is a *fuṣḥā*-form.

[13] According to Cantineau (1946:389–391), this is true of the whole Ḥōrān, whereas Bergsträsser (1915:205 and Map 21) draws an isogloss line through Ḥōrān.

[14] According to Bergsträsser (1915, par. 53 and Map 21), it is obligatory. However, at least in narrative style, the *š*-less negations are common; in addition, in a few specific constructions the split-morpheme negation cannot be used (Blau 1960:192–195).

with the *b*-imperfect, the 'short' imperfect forms *bitgūli, bugūlu, bitgūlu*, the imperfects *yōkil, yōxuḏ*, the pseudoverb *bidd-/badd-*, the interrogatives *šū, ʾēš, lēš, mēt/mēta/ʾamēt*, etc., they reflect the sedentary kernel of the dialect of es-Salṭ.

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UNMARKED FEMININE NOUNS IN MODERN ARABIC DIALECTS

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1. *Introduction*

The diachronic development of grammatically feminine nouns lacking the normal ending *-a* (with several allophones in many dialects) shared by the vast majority of feminines in Arabic, has not to date attracted the attention of many dialectologists.[1] Consequently information on this subject is scarce and often restricted to such statements as "there exist some other feminine nouns, among them . . .", followed by no more than four or five examples. Unfortunately, even the most exhaustive and in other respects excellent dictionaries and glossaries on Arabic dialects often do not indicate the gender of nouns.[2] Detailed studies on unmarked feminine nouns have been done only for Morocco (see Destaing 1935–1945 and especially the excellent chapter 4.8.2 in Heath 2002). Particularly poor is our knowledge concerning the gender of nouns in the dialects of Mesopotamia, of large parts of the Arabian Peninsula, and among the Bedouin of the Western Maghrib. Because of such lack of information, the present article can only be a preliminary study, a first attempt to understand some of the main tendencies in the development of one interesting aspect of grammatical gender. Although word gender studies have been done for Classical Arabic (= CA) and Modern Standard Arabic (= MSA),[3] such investigations have not yet been done in comparative

[1] I want to thank Prof. Arne A. Ambros and the editors of this volume for their useful remarks on this article.

[2] Among these are Woodhead & Beene (1967), Vocke & Waldner (1982), Behnstedt (1992–1996), Landberg (1920–1942), Corriente (1997).

[3] Wensinck (1927), Feghali & Cuny (1924), Drozdík (1973), Hämeen-Anttila (1999), Idriss (1999). Unfortunately, Ibrahim's opinion (1973:39) that "the study of Semitic gender . . . is still at a primitive stage compared with Indo-European studies" is, at least with respect to Arabic, still valid. Both Drozdík (1973) and Hämeen-Anttila (1999) restrict themselves to formal, morphological criteria of gender assignment, and the hypotheses of Idriss (1999) are to a large extent highly speculative.

Arabic dialectology, and even the famous *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte* does not discuss the gender of nouns in any detail (Fischer & Jastrow 1980:88). As we shall see, Arabic dialects are surprisingly homogeneous with regard to the gender of some specific words, but are otherwise on the whole highly diversified.

In the following the source for the gender classification of Classical Arabic nouns is, unless otherwise mentioned, Wright (1974:I, 177–183), and for Modern Standard Arabic, Wehr (1985:*s.r.*). When words are cited in their CA form between slashes, i.e. /. . ./, it is meant that the remark in question is true for all reflexes of the given word, though they may have different phonological realizations in different dialects. As usual, f. means feminine, m. means masculine, and m./f. stands for twofold gender, i.e. the word is grammatically both masculine and feminine. The problem of some collective nouns (such as *nās, ʿālam* 'people') which agree either with f. sg. or with m. pl. will not be considered.

Because a great number of unmarked f. belong to a few specific semantic categories (cf. Wensinck 1927:26–34), the words discussed in this article are arranged according to their meaning. This does not imply, however, that we follow the highly speculative theories regarding the origin of the feminine gender (Wensinck 1927:34–52), since it is not the aim of this article to explain *why* certain unmarked nouns are treated as f. rather than m. This 'secret' can only be revealed, if at all, by comparative Semitics.

2. *Unmarked feminines according to semantic categories*

2.1 *Natural feminines*

In the Arabic dialects, as in CA and MSA, all nouns denoting animate beings of female sex are regarded as grammatically f. no matter what form they have, e.g. */ʾumm/* 'mother', */ʿarūs/* 'bride'.

2.2 *Parts of the body (see also map 1)*

Many dialectological works discussing the gender of nouns assert that in Arabic paired parts of the body are treated as f. This may be true for CA and MSA, but it is not correct for modern Arabic dialects. In contemporary Arabic dialects most paired parts of the

body are usually grammatically m., whereas some important single body members are f.

2.2.1 *Parts of the body—paired*

Nowadays, in modern Arabic dialects, as well as in CA and MSA, four paired parts of the body are virtually always f. Three of them, 'eye', 'ear', and 'hand', are the organs of the principal senses—seeing, hearing, touching—and the fourth, 'foot', is the means of locomotion.

/*ʿayn*/ 'eye' and /*ʾuḏun*/ 'ear' are f. without exception. Some words in the Lebanese and Palestinian dialects that express the diminutive of 'ear' are marked f., e.g. Jerusalem *dēne* (Bauer 1926:59), and in Northern Morocco *wədnīne* '(one) ear' is used, with the feminine suffix added to the plural (Heath 2002:264).

/*yad*/ 'hand' is f. everywhere except in some urban dialects of the Maghrib; specifically, in Djidjelli and several dialects of northern and south-eastern Morocco. (Ph. Marçais 1956:328 and Heath 2002:255, with detailed data).

'Foot' can be expressed by different words. The most common is /*riğl*/, which is f. except in a few parts of Morocco (Premare 1993–1999:V, 66; Heath 2002:255f) and in Mauritania (Taine-Cheikh 1988–1990:753). In Mauritania, however, *ržəl* does not mean 'foot' but 'leg, shank'—a word whose equivalents in most other Arabic dialects are m. The lexeme /*sāq*/ (CA/MSA f.) is widely used for 'foot' in Anatolia (Sasse 1971:86; Vocke & Waldner 1982:213) as well as in the sedentary dialects of Tunisia (e.g. Tunis, Susa; Singer 1984:444; Talmoudi 1980:128) and in closely related Maltese (Schabert 1976:180). /*sāq*/ is also used in many other dialects (e.g. Syria, Egypt) in its (actual) sense of 'leg, shank', but in those cases it is usually m.[4] Another f. noun used for 'foot' is /*kurāʿ*/ (CA f., MSA m./f.), which is found in some Eastern Libyan and Sudanese dialects (Panetta 1943:II, 56; Reichmuth 1983:199; Trimingham 1946:16).

However, despite the universally f. gender of 'eye', 'ear', 'hand' and 'foot' in Arabic dialects as well as in CA and MSA, the overwhelming majority of nouns for paired body parts in the dialects are m. Among the few exceptions is /*ḏirāʿ*/ 'arm, forearm' (CA f., MSA

[4] One of the rare exceptions is the f. form of *sāg* 'leg' in Bahrayn, cf. Holes (2001:256).

m./f.), which is f. in an Eastern Chadian dialect (Carbou 1913:52) and in the Judeo-Arabic of Tafilalt (Heath & Bar Asher 1982:49). Probably this was also true for /*ḏirāʿ*/ in 19th century Cairene (Spitta 1880:124). In contemporary Cairo, however, the word is m. (Hinds & Badawi 1986:286). In a few regions /*zand*/ 'forearm' (CA/MSA m.), /*kitf*/ 'shoulder' (CA f., MSA m.), /*faxḏ*/ 'thigh, leg' (CA/MSA f.), and /*xadd*/ 'cheek' (CA/MSA m.) are f.[5] But these are isolated exceptions, because in the modern Arabic dialects most terms for paired body parts—even parts related exclusively to the female sex, such as 'breasts', are m.

Another exception to this common tendency are words for some parts of the body which are ambiguously paired. For example, in many dialects /*ḏaqn*/ 'beard' (MSA f.) and /*ḏaqan*/ 'chin' (MSA m.) have merged into one word. This word is typically f. in the urban dialects of Syria, Lebanon (Damascus, Aleppo, Tripoli), and in Egypt (Grotzfeld 1965:45; Sabuni 1980:176; El-Hajjé 1954:150; Hinds & Badawi 1986:287). However, even outside Egypt and the Levant, /*ḏaq(a)n*/ can be f., as in Mecca (a cosmopolitan urban centre whose dialect has parallels to Egyptian Arabic) and parts of Anatolia (Schreiber 1971:51; Sasse 1971:86). /*ṭīz*/ 'buttocks, arse' (not used in MSA; but the MSA equivalent *ʾist* is f.) is f. in the dialects of Aleppo, Damascus, and Cairo (Sabuni 1980:176; Grotzfeld 1965:45; Hinds & Badawi 1986:554). Cantineau (1937:221) mentions that in several Bedouin dialects of Syria this lexeme means 'vulva', but unfortunately he does not give the grammatical gender of this word.

/*ʾiṣbaʿ*/ 'finger' (CA m./f., MSA m.), because there are two times five fingers, seems to be thought of as a paired body member. Hence, in the sedentary dialects of Yemen, Oman, and Syria (including the oases Palmyra and Sukhne,[6] but excluding Hawran, Palestine, and Lebanon), /*ʾiṣbaʿ*/ is f. (Rossi 1939:11; Ghanem 1958:152; Reinhardt 1894:56; Barthélemy 1935–1954:425; Cantineau 1934:I, 196; Behnstedt 1994:2, 170).

[5] The first three are all f. in the Lebanese village of Kfar ʿAbīda (Feghali 1919:202), the second one f. in Chad (Carbou 1913:52), the third f. in Tafilalt/Jews (Heath & Bar Asher 1982:49), *xadd* is f. in Benghasi (Panetta 1943:II, 56).

[6] In Sukhne *iḏfir* 'fingernail' is also f. (Behnstedt 1994:2, 170).

2.2.2 *Parts of the body—not paired*

In most South Arabian, Iraqi (*gilit*-group) and North African (including Egyptian and Sudanese) dialects, the words for 'abdomen' are f.: /*baṭn*/ (CA usually m., MSA m.) is found in Iraq, Arabia, and Libya, whereas /*kirš*/ (CA/MSA f.) dominates the area between Tunisia and Mauritania. In the Jewish dialect of Tunis, however, /*kirš*/ is m. In Maltese the word *za*'' is used which is likewise f. (deverbative noun to *za*'' 'to feed', Aquilina 1987–1990:1597f).

/*ra's*/ 'head' (CA m., MSA m./f.) and /*dimāġ*/ 'skull' (CA/MSA m.) are f. in Egypt (Hinds & Badawi 1986:319 and 302f). The former is f. also in some archaic sedentary dialects on the periphery of the Arab world, specifically those of Anatolia, Malta, and Taza, as well as in nearly all Judeo-Arabic dialects of Morocco (Sasse 1971:86; Schabert 1976:180; Colin 1921:57; Heath 2002:254f). /*qalb*/ 'heart' (CA/MSA m.) is f. in Najdi Arabic as well as in Maltese, (former) Siculo Arabic, and, according to some sources, in Morocco (Socin 1901:III, 96; Schabert 1976:180; Agiùs 1991:3; Caubet 1993:I, 60).

A special case is the inner organ /*kabid*/ 'liver' (CA, MSA m./f.) which is f. in the dialects of Najd and Oman, and, in the West, among the Chleuḥ tribe and the Jews of Tafilalt (Socin 1901:III, 96; Reinhardt 1894:57; Destaing 1935–1945:178; Heath & Bar Asher 1982:50). In many other regions the new marked form /*kibda*/ is used (cf. e.g. for Morocco Heath 2002:257). In a few dialects several other f. nouns denoting parts of the body exist, e.g. /*lisān*/ 'tongue' in Aden, /*warik*/ 'hip' in Chad, and /*sinn*/ 'tooth' in some parts of Morocco. The Egyptian *manaxīr* 'nose' is actually a plural meaning 'nostrils' and therefore treated as f. (Woidich 1990:131).

Though not parts of the body in the anatomic sense, /*rūḥ*/ 'soul, spirit' (CA, MSA m./f.) and /*nafs*/ 'soul, psyche, mind' (CA, MSA f.) seem to be f. in almost all dialects when used within the semantic range given above.

2.3 *Heaven, earth, and the elements (see map 2)*

Words in this category show a tendency to be f. (cf. Wensinck 1927:26–29). The terms for 'sun', 'earth, land', and 'fire', i.e. /*šams*/, /*'arḍ*/, and /*nār*/, seem to be f. without exception.[7] Moreover, in

[7] Only for the Jewish dialect of Tunis it is reported that *arḍ* can also be m. (D. Cohen 1975:183).

many dialects other words with the same meanings are also f.: for example /*turāb*/ 'soil, earth' in Djidjelli (m./f.) and Mauritania; *gāʿ* 'land' (< *qāʿ* 'plain' m.) in Najd, Iraq, and among the Bedouins of Northern Syria; *ḏaw(w)* 'fire'[8] in Eastern Arabia (Ph. Marçais 1956:328; D. Cohen 1963:210; Ingham 1994:62; Behnstedt 2000:556; Holes 2001:313).

It is a fact that in many Semitic languages the 'moon' is the m. counterpart of a f. 'sun' (Wensinck 1927:28f) but in some Arabic dialects the moon is treated as f. too. In those regions a 'sun-moon' pair therefore no longer exists. Because otherwise in Semitic *all* the attested words for moon are m. (Wensinck 1927:23), the appearance of a f. moon in several Arabic dialects is remarkable. However, besides the dialects of the Yemeni highlands (in and around Sanaa, Piamenta 1991:II, 412), a f. moon is a linguistic feature restricted to medieval Siculo Arabic, Agiùs 1991:3), to several Bedouin dialects of the Eastern Maghrib, specifically those of Benghasi and the Jabal region of Western Libya (Panetta 1943:57; Harrama 1993:172), and to the west Algerian town of Oran (Heath 2002:147).[9] A couple of other, mostly Bedouin and Jewish, dialects in North Africa exhibit forms marked by the f. ending, i.e. /*qamra*/.[10] Considering the discussion in Heath (2002:146f) regarding /*qamra*/, the forms mentioned above make it more plausible to explain the North African /*qamra*/ by a hypercharacterization of a f. *qamar*, rather than as a reflex of CA *qamrāʾ* 'moonlight'.

Surprisingly, in many regions /*samāʾ*/ 'sky' (CA, MSA m./f.) is not f., although its morphological shape is almost identical with other f. nouns. /*samāʾ*/ is attested as f. only in sedentary dialects, particularly those of Yemen, (Greater) Syria, and Egypt, and in some urban vernaculars of the Central Maghreb,[11] e.g. those of Sousse and Djidjelli (Rossi 1939:11; Ghanem 1958:49; Barthélemy 1935–54:359; Spitta 1880:125; Talmoudi 1980:129; Ph. Marçais 1956:328).

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[8] For details, see below.

[9] Premare (1993–1999:X, 422) reports that also in Morocco *qmər* is sometimes f.

[10] Specifically in the dialects of Upper Egypt, Djerba, Marazig, the Jews of Tunis and Morocco, Zaer (Behnstedt & Woidich 1985–1999:II, map 412; Behnstedt 1998:77; Boris 1958:509; D. Cohen 1975:184; Heath & Bar Asher 1982:50; Heath 2002:146f; Premare 1993–1999:X, 422).

[11] In the Tunisian village dialect of Takrouna, for instance, this word is f. only in a few special phrases (W. Marçais 1958–1961:1901).

/māʾ/ 'water' is f., often with variants exhibiting the f.-ending,[12] in most Syro-Palestinian dialects including those of Cilicia (cf. e.g. Grotzfeld 1965:45; Bauer 1927:59; Procházka 2002:117). However, it is m. in some village dialects of the Lebanon.

2.4 *Weather and seasons*

Expressions for 'wind', 'rain', and 'winter' are very often f. */rīḥ/* 'wind'[13] is f. in the dialects of the Arabian Peninsula and in the Bedouin-type dialects of Chad, Eastern Libya[14] and Mauritania in North Africa. In Sudanese Arabic *habūb* 'sandstorm' (Reichmuth 1983:199) is f., as is the Yemeni Arabic *nawd/nōd* 'wind' (Piamenta 1991:II, 500).

Words for 'rain' are f. in both Bedouin and sedentary dialects of North Africa: */maṭar/* in Benghasi, in Takrouna, and in Siculo Arabic. (Panetta 1943:II, 57; W. Marçais 1958–61:3824; Agiùs 1991:3). There also is evidence of a f. treatment of this word in Mecca[15] and in Southern Yemen (Landberg 1920–1942:2700f). */šitāʾ/* in the meaning of 'rain' is f. in Egypt, Malta, Djidjelli and other areas (Spitta 1880:129; Aquilina 1987–1990:1575; Ph. Marçais 1956:328), and *sḥāb* 'rain' is f. in Mauritania (D. Cohen 1963:210). In the case of */šitāʾ/* one might assume that the word is regarded as f. because of its ending. However, this explanation fails in regard to the other 'rainy' words which are all m. in CA and MSA.

Reflexes of */šitāʾ/* in the meaning of 'winter' are f. in a few Moroccan dialects where, through analogy, */ṣayf/* 'summer' has also become a f. noun. (Colin 1921:57; Heath & Bar Asher 1982:49; Heath 2002:258 and 444–6).

2.5 *Symbols of civilization—inhabited places, buildings, shops, roads, wells*

In modern Arabic dialects as well as in CA, names of cities and countries are mostly f. This is also the case for the words for 'village,

[12] So in most Egyptian dialects, i.e. *mayya* (Hinds & Badawi 1986:842).

[13] Many dialects in the East use */hawāʾ/*, which is usually m., e.g. Egypt (Hinds & Badawi 1986:918).

[14] The Benghasi dialect has preserved the CA feminine form for all the wind names (Panetta 1943:II,57).

[15] In Snouck-Hurgronje (1888–1989:II, 199) the phrase *yā maṭar ḥuṭṭi ḥuṭṭi* 'oh rain come down' is cited.

place, town', which are either marked (e.g. /*madīna*/, /*qarya*/) or unmarked f.

/*balad*/ (MSA m./f.) in the sense of 'village, place' is f. in nearly all Syro-Palestine dialects as well as in Egypt. In the latter /*balad*/ also means 'country'. *belt* is the Maltese for 'town' and also a f. word (Aquilina 1987–1990:101). However, in other Maghribi dialects the most common term for 'town' is *blād*. But *blād* is actually the plural of /*balad*/ and therefore intrinsically f. anyway. /*balad*/ 'land' also is reported to be f. in Najdi and Chadic Arabic (Ingham 1994:62; Jullien de Pommerol 1999:61).

/*dār*/ is f. with different semantic notions in different regions. In Syria, including Palmyra and Hawran, it means 'place (of living)' (Barthélemy 1935–54:256; Cantineau 1934:I, 196; Cantineau 1946:348). In Sudan, Chad, and Nigeria /*dār*/ means '(home) country'; and in some rural Egyptian dialects (Hinds & Badawi 1986:310) and the entire Maghrib it means 'house'.[16]

In some Northern Moroccan dialects /*ǧāmiʕ*/ 'mosque' (Premare 1993–1999:II, 228) is f. which has an interesting parallel in all Berber dialects where the Arabic loanword *masǧid* is without exception f. (cf. Colin 1999:101).[17] The word /*bāb*/ 'gate, door' is f. in many Moroccan dialects as well as in Siculo and Andalusi Arabic (Caubet 1993:I, 60; Agiùs 1991:3; Ferrando 2000:53), the latter occurrences indicating that the f. gender of this word must be an old feature of some Maghribi dialects. /*bayt*/ 'room' is f. in the Central Maghrib (between Tunis and Cherchell, including Sicily, excluding Malta), but in Morocco it is f. only in Jewish and some south-eastern dialects (Heath 2002:256). The f. gender of this word could be the consequence both of the fact that a 'room' is part of the f. /*dār*/ 'house', and that, like several other f. nouns in the same dialects, /*bayt*/ ends in a *-t* (see below).

/*dukkān*/ 'shop' (CA m./f., MSA m.) is still f. in four of the most important trade centres of the Eastern Mediterranean: Aleppo, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Alexandria (Grotzfeld 1965:44; Barthélemy 1935–1954:246 also includes data on the latter). Its Maghribi counterpart /*ḥānūt*/ is f. in all the dialects west of Libya except that of Mauritania. Worth mentioning is the f. gender of /*furn*/ 'oven' in many dialects of Upper Egypt (Behnstedt & Woidich 1985–1999:V, 352).

[16] Except Libya, where it is used in the sense of 'room' (Panetta 1943:II, 57).
[17] In Egypt *kinīs* 'synagogue' is f. (p.c. G.M. Rosenbaum, Jerusalem).

Surprisingly, /*sūq*/ 'market' (CA, MSA f.) seems to be a m. noun in the vast majority of the modern dialects; only for Eastern Arabia and Tunis a f. usage of the word is attested (Holes 2001:256; Singer 1984:444).

There exist two expressions for 'road, way', /*ṭarīq*/ (CA/MSA m./f.) and /*darb*/ (CA/MSA m.), and these are both f. in many dialects. The more widely-used /*ṭarīq*/ is f. in Lebanon, Yemen and Oman (Jiha 1964:152; Feghali 1919:203; El-Hajjé 1954:150; Rossi 1939:11; Reinhardt 1894:56) as well as everywhere west of Egypt including Malta (but excluding Tunisia). The word is of both genders in Damascus, Jerusalem and Egypt (Cowell 1964:375; Bauer 1957:355; Hinds & Badawi 1986:537). /*darb*/ is more common than /*ṭarīq*/ in Syria, where, with a few exceptions (Aleppo, Palmyra), it is f. (Barthélemy 1935–1954:233; Procházka 2002:117).

/*biʾr*/ 'well' (CA/MSA f.) has remained f. in Sub-Saharan Arabic, i.e. in the Sudan,[18] Chad and Nigeria (Trimingham 1946:17/11; Jullien de Pommerol 1999:61; Owens 1993:48), but is attested as m. in al-Andalus as early as the 12th century (Ferrando 2000:53). Outside the above-mentioned region /*biʾr*/ is still f. only in Benghasi and Sanaa (Panetta 1943:II, 57; Rossi 1939:11).

2.6 *Tools and vessels (see map 3)*

The list in Wensinck (1927:331) reveals that in CA the words of many important tools and vessels were unmarked f. However, in modern dialects only the terms for some cutting tools, particularly those for 'knife', remain f. In a few very limited regions the names for weapons and grain mills are f. too (see below).

/*sikkīn*/ 'knife' is f. in parts of Anatolia, Lebanon, Central Syria, and Cilicia (Sasse 1971:86; Jiha 1964:152; Feghali 1919:203; Cowell 1964:375; Procházka 2002:117) as well as in Yemen and Oman (Rossi 1939:11; Reinhardt 1894:57). In North Africa it is f. mainly in the Western Maghrib (Tafilalt and Mauritania: in urban Moroccan it is both m./f.; Heath & Bar Asher 1982:49; Taine-Cheikh 1988–1990:1012; Caubet 1993:I, 60) and in Sub-Saharan Arabic (Sudan, Chad, Nigeria; Trimingham 1946:17; Zeltner & Tourneux 1986:42;

[18] In the dialect of the Šukriyya tribe (Eastern Sudan) also *ḥafīr* '[artificial] pond' is f. (Reichmuth 1983:199).

Owens 1993:48).[19] Chad and Nigeria also seem to be the only places where /*faʾs*/ 'axe' (CA/MSA f.) is still f. (*ibid.*) The word /*mūsā*/ 'razor blade' (CA/MSA f.) occurs in the dialects frequently without the final *-a*, i.e. /*mūs*/, but it is attested as f. in Sanaa, Khartoum, and, in the West, among the Jews of Tafilalt (Rossi 1939:11; Trimingham 1946:17; Heath & Bar Asher 1982:49). In urban Morocco /*mūsā*/ is reported to be of twofold gender (Caubet 1993:I, 60).

Unmarked f. weapon names are used only in the dialects of the Arabian Peninsula. Examples include *bundug* 'rifle' (MSA *bunduqīya*) and *tufag*[20] (the Turco-Persian loanword of the same meaning) in Najdi Arabic (Socin 1901:III, 96; Johnstone 1961:264), and *xanǧar* 'dagger' and *rumḥ*, 'lance' in Oman (Reinhardt 1894:57).

/*ḥarb*/ 'war', the original meaning of which was 'lance, spear' (Brockelmann 1908:I, 423), is f. in CA and MSA and has preserved this gender in Central and Eastern Arabia, and in the Maghrib east of Morocco (excluding Malta, where it is m.; Ingham 1994:62; Holes 1990:155; Panetta 1943:II, 57; Singer 1984:444; Ph. Marçais 1956:327).

Among other tool names, only the terms for 'hand-mill' are worth mentioning. While the CA f. *raḥā* has marked reflexes, for instance in many Egyptian dialects, i.e. *raḥāya* and the like (Behnstedt & Woidich 1985–99:IV, 159), the equivalent terms for the word in some Syrian and Lebanese dialects are unmarked f.: for example *ṭāḥūn* (MSA m.)[21] in Damascus and Palmyra (Cowell 1964:375; Cantineau 1934:I, 196), and *žārūš* (MSA only *ǧārūša*) in Tripoli (El-Hajjé 1954:150).

2.7 *Animals*

Among animal names the only ones relevant to our investigation are the reflexes of CA /*ʾarnab*/ 'hare' (CA mostly f., MSA m.), /*ʿaqrab*/ 'scorpion' (CA f., MSA m.), and /*ʾafʿā*/ 'snake' (CA/MSA f.). /*ʾafʿā*/ seems to be f. in the vast majority of modern dialects whereas, outside the Maghrib, /*ʾarnab*/ and /*ʿaqrab*/ are f. usually only in Bedouin dialects. Moreover, in most dialects the gender of these latter two

[19] In Cairo *sikkīn* is used in some special idioms only (Hinds & Badawi 1986:422).

[20] Bahrayn uses the marked f. *tufga* (Holes 2001:I, 69) as do the Šāwi-dialects in the region of Urfa in Turkey (*tfunga*, from my own data).

[21] In Egypt marked forms are widespread, e.g. *ṭaḥūna* (Behnstedt & Woidich 1985–1999:II, map 449).

nouns correlate. For example, both terms are f. in Sub-Saharan Arabic (Reichmuth 1983:199; Zeltner & Tourneux 1986:42; Owens 1993:48); Nigeria has only *ʾarnaba*, see Kaye (1982:36), in Benghasi, in Tunis (among Muslims only), and in Djidjelli (Panetta 1943:II, 57; Singer 1984:444; Ph. Marçais 1956:328). /*ʿaqrab*/ appears to be f. in all Moroccan dialects and in Mauritania (Premare 1993–1999:IX, 182; Taine-Cheikh 1988–90:1468), but /*ʾarnab*/ is f. in Taza only (Colin 1921:57). In the East /*ʾarnab*/ is f. in Palmyra and among the Dosiri tribe (Cantineau 1934:I, 196; Johnstone 1961:264).

Several other terms for animals are f. in some urban Maghribi dialects, e.g. /*ṯaʿlab*/ 'fox' in Taza (Colin 1921:57), and *fār* 'mouse' and *fəkrūn* 'turtle' in Cherchell (Grand'Henry 1972:92).

2.8 *Varia (see map 4)*

Obviously I cannot present a complete list of every noun reported to be an umarked f. in every single dialect. However, a few other interesting examples outside the semantic categories covered above must be mentioned:

markib 'ship' (MSA *markab* m.) is usually f. in Egypt and the Sudan (Woidich 1990:131; for exceptions see Behnstedt & Woidich 1985–1999:V, 58; Reichmuth 1983:199). Nouns for food are usually f. in many sedentary dialects of Morocco and in some of those of Algeria: among them are /*ʿasal*/ 'honey', /*laḥm*/ 'meat', /*xubz*/ 'bread', /*samn*/ 'clarified butter', /*šaḥm*/ 'grease', and /*laban*/ 'whey' (see e.g. Premare 1993–1999:IX, 109, XI, 36, IV, 9; Caubet 1993:I, 60; Destaing 1935–1945:17f; Heath 2002:256). Another common feature of urban Maghribi dialects is the f. gender for /*ṣūf*/ 'wool' (cf. e.g. Singer 1984:444; Grand'Henry 1972:93; Aguadé & Elyaacoubi 1995:99). A couple of Maghribi Arabic words ending in *-t* will be discussed later. Regarding possible Berber influence on all these Maghribi words see below.

3. *Diachronic development of unmarked feminine nouns*

There are three main modes of gender transformation between CA and the modern Arabic dialects: CA f.s that have become m.s; f.s unmarked in CA that have become marked f.s, and, finally, CA m.s that appear as f.s.

3.1 *Feminine > masculine*

This type of gender transformation is the most common one. However, even with regard to CA we can assume that not all of the 240 words without f. marker listed by the Arab grammarians were ever unanimously seen as such. There was never full agreement among them which words the list should include, and less than 100 are cited by all grammarians (cf. Ibrahim 1973:47). Thus in several cases no actual shift from f. to m. has really happened because the words in question were always classified as m. or at least m./f. in a given dialect of pre-classical Arabic.

Anyway, with some exceptions, the main reason for the change from f. to m. is the well known tendency of modern Arabic dialects towards a simplification of the system. This tendency is not characteristic of modern Arabic dialects alone, but is as old as the history of the Semitic languages itself (cf. Wensinck 1927:6–7). It is very probable that the bulk of the ancient unmarked f. were transformed into m. to make them compatible with the 'behaviour' of other nouns, i.e. zero ending means m., *-a* ending means f. Simply speaking, native speakers of Arabic dialects see no logical reason why these words should be f. Thus it is no accident that a great number of f.s still unmarked are frequently used words which could therefore more easily resist a gender transformation. If we can trust the 19th century dialectological works, the loss of unmarked f. has been occurring very rapidly during the last 100 or 150 years. The difference, for example, between the Cairene Arabic described by Spitta (1880) and that by Hinds & Badawi (1986) shows that not a few words have changed gender within just the past century alone.

3.2 *Unmarked feminines > marked feminines*

Such a change is relatively common with unmarked f. or gender neutral nouns denoting female persons, simply because, to quote Jespersen, it is "a natural tendency to bring about conformity between gender and sex" (cited in Ibrahim 1973:53). Works referring to this subject (e.g. Drozdík 1973:228; Agiùs 1991:2) hardly ever cite any other than the two words /*ʿarūs*/ 'bride' and /*ʿağūz*/ 'old woman', both of which are very often found with a final *-a*,[22] particularly in

[22] In Damascus the first word gets a *-t* in status constructus, but has no *-a* in status absolutus (Grotzfeld 1965:44).

the Maghrib,[23] apparently an old feature because it is attested in Siculo and Andalusi Arabic. Two other unmarked f. in CA which are now frequently marked are two of the body parts, /*kibda*/ 'liver' (e.g. in Jerusalem, Tunis, Djidjelli; Bauer 1957:190; Singer 1984:446; Ph. Marçais 1956:329) and /*sinna*/ 'tooth' (e.g. in Cairo, Hinds & Badawi 1986:436; Morocco, Premare 1993–1999:VI, 212–13; Maltese, Aquilina 1987–1990:1321).

The marking of words for tools or vessels is often observed in the urban dialects of the Eastern Mediterranean. Examples are /*qidra*/ 'vessel' in parts of Syria and in Cairo (Grotzfeld 1965:44; Hinds & Badawi 1986:688); *sikkīna* 'knife' in Aleppo, Damascus, and Cairo; and *ʿaṣāya* 'stick' in Damascus, Jerusalem, and Cairo (Grotzfeld 1965:44; Bauer 1926:59; Hinds & Badawi 1986:582).

However, when marked and unmarked forms co-exist the variants are often semantically not fully interchangeable—a linguistic tendency which deserves further investigation.[24]

There occur, of course, further examples of the marking of formerly unmarked f. in various dialects—for instance the rare and interesting form *šamsa* 'sun', attested in the Anatolian dialect of Daragözü and in Eastern and Upper Egypt (Jastrow 1973:86; Behnstedt & Woidich 1985–1999:V, 278).

Nevertheless, in retaining unmarked f.s denoting inanimate things the modern dialects are relatively conservative if one takes into account that even Akkadian exhibited such marked forms as *erṣetum* 'earth' and *napištum* 'soul' where the modern Arabic dialects still have unmarked forms (cf. Hämeen-Anttila 1999:599).

3.3 *Masculine > feminine*

The most interesting type of gender transformation is that of m. forms in CA to f. forms in contemporary usage. There are four possible reasons for such a radical grammatical change: (1) The word replaces a former (f.) synonym no longer used in the given dialect. (2) The word is part of a semantically related cluster of f. words or

[23] It is worth mentioning that in most Maghribi dialects *xādim* is the word for 'female servant' (cf. e.g. Singer 1984:443, D. Cohen 1963:209).

[24] Compare Lebanon *ʾədr* 'pot' vs. *ʾədre* 'earthenware pot' (Feghali 1919:203f); Cairo *kās* 'wine-glass' vs. *kāsa* 'glass for ice cream' (Hinds & Badawi 1986:728); Sfax *mūs* 'big knife' vs. *mūsa* 'small knife' (Singer 1984:446, n. 9); Dakhla Oasis *kibid* 'liver' vs. *kabda* 'liver (dish)' (Behnstedt & Woidich 1985–1999:V, 180).

associated with a synonym which is f. (3) The phonological shape of the word is f. rather than m. (4) There has been some influence from a substrate or adstrate language.

3.3.1 *Replacement of a former feminine lexeme*

When one word replaces another, it often will take on the gender as well as the meaning of the old word. In such cases the content and not the form of the word determines its gender. Thus for some unmarked f. it is the idea itself, the *signifié*, that is f. whatever the word used to designate it. Such a development is illustrated by the following examples: In Eastern Arabia *ḏ̣aww* (< *ḍawʾ*) 'fire' replaces *nār* and thus becomes f. (Holes 2001:313) although it is m. in CA. In Oman *ṭawi* (< *ṭawīy*) 'well' (Reinhardt 1894:56) is used instead of *biʾr* and is therefore f. In several Eastern Bedouin dialects (e.g. in Najdi Arabic, Ingham 1994:62) the word *gāʿ* 'land' probably became f. influenced by *arḍ*, and *nawd* in Yemen by the f. *rīḥ* 'wind' (Piamenta 1991:II, 500). Other striking examples are *ṭāḥūn* and *žārūš*, which mean 'grain-mill' in some Syrian and Lebanese dialects (see above). Both formerly m. words have become f. because of the semantic notion in CA (and other dialects) expressed by the obsolete *raḥā*. 'Foot' can be expressed by three different words: /*riǧl*/, /*sāq*/, /*kurāʿ*/. In the sense of 'foot' all three words are nearly always f. But even if all three words occur in the same dialect with three separate meanings, usually only the word actually meaning 'foot' is f. For example in Morocco: *ržəl* 'foot' f., *krāʿ* 'foot [of an animal]' m., *sāq* 'shank' m. (Premare 1993–1999:V, 66; VI, 6, X, 555). In Mauritania, however, *riǧl* does not mean foot, but 'shank', and is therefore m. Another example, found in several dialects, is the word for 'abdomen, belly': in those dialects in which reflexes of the CA f. /*kirš*/ are unknown, /*baṭn*/ or, in the case of Maltese even the totally new word *zaʾʾ*, are treated as f.

Conversely, when a f. word is used in other than its inherent f. meaning it often becomes m. For example /*rūḥ*/ is f. when it means 'spirit, soul', but m. in the sense of 'ghost' (also in CA). Similarly, the f. /*arḍ*/ 'earth, land' is often m. when meaning 'floor, ground', /*samāʾ*/ is m. when meaning 'ceiling' rather than 'sky' (also in CA). /*rīḥ*/, though f. in its meteorological sense of 'wind' in several dialects, is m. in the Syro-Palestine dialects because there it means 'intestinal winds' only. *dār* is f. in Aleppo where it means 'place', but m. in Central Syria and Cilicia where it means respectively 'living room

[in the middle of the house]' and 'courtyard' (Barthélemy 1935–1954:256; Procházka 2002:170). In Tunis *štā* is f. when meaning 'rain', but m. in the meaning of 'winter' (Singer 1984:513).

3.3.2 *Semantic analogy and attraction to synonyms*

A sharp division between cases in which gender transformation is the consequence of replacement by a synonym and cases in which transformation results from serialization or attraction to synonyms is, of course, not always possible. A very clear example where the shift of grammatical gender is caused by semantic analogy (also called 'lexical serialization') may be seen in the words for 'spring', 'summer', and 'autumn' in the Algerian dialect of Djidjelli, which are f. or at least m./f. by analogy to the f. /*šitā*ʾ/ 'winter' (Ph. Marçais 1956:328). Other examples are *iḏ̣fir* 'fingernail' in Sukhne, which was attracted by *iṣbiʿ* to become f. (Behnstedt 1994:2, 170), the f. gender of /*wağh*/ 'face' by analogy with the f. /*raʾs*/ 'head' in two Jewish dialects of Morocco (Brunot 1936:22; Heath & Bar Asher 1982:49). In Egyptian Arabic the f. gender of /*raʾs*/ was obviously the reason that /*dimāġ*/ 'skull' has also become a f. noun.

However gender change because of attraction to synonyms or semantically related words is more frequent. One example is the *markib* 'ship' of nearly all Egyptian and Sudanese dialects, the f. gender of which results from the f. of *fālūka* 'boat' (also CA *fulk* is f.) and/or *safīna* 'ship' (in the Sudan *bābūr* 'steamer' is also f., Reichmuth 1983:199). The f. status of /*sayf*/ 'sword' (CA/MSA m.) in Sicilian Arabic and among the Jews of Fes (Agiùs 1991:3; Brunot 1936:19) is probably motivated by *sikkīn* 'knife', though Agiùs (1991:3) suspects the influence of a Romance language in which the counterparts of this word are likewise f.

3.3.3 *Phonological analogy*

In the majority of Arabic dialects, nouns that in CA ended in *-at* and those that ended in *-ā*ʾ or *-ā* are, on a synchronic level, indistinguishable. Thus it is surprising that few formerly m. nouns ending in *-ā*ʾ or *-ā* have become f. in the dialects (cf. Fischer & Jastrow 1980:87). Although different dialects can behave quite differently with respect to gender transformation by phonological analogy, on the whole the formal criteria are not as strong as the semantic notion and the inherited (i.e. CA) gender. Therefore in many regions reflexes of the old f. /*ʿaṣā*/ 'stick', /*raḥā*/ 'hand-mill', and /*samā*ʾ/ 'sky' are

still f., while words like /*hawāʾ*/ ‘air, wind’ and /*ġadāʾ*/ ‘lunch’ have kept their m. gender despite identical morphological shape: Contrast, for instance, the Lebanese *sama* f. ‘sky’ vs. *hawa* m. ‘wind’ (Bišmizzīn, Jiha 1964:152) and the Tunisian *ʿṣā* f. ‘stick’ vs. *ndā* m. ‘humidity’ (Singer 1984:513). However, despite a dominant tendency to retain the original gender, there are scattered examples of gender transformation that are clearly caused by phonological analogy. In Galilean Arabic, for instance, *šāy* ‘tea’ is f. probably not only by influence of the semantically related *qahwa* ‘coffee’, but also by influence of the f. *mayy* ‘water’ (Elihai 1973:386, 148). In Cilician Arabic *kirsi* ‘chair’ has become f. because of its ending, which is identical with the f. ending after non-emphatic consonants (cf. Procházka 2002:117). This last example and the reflexes of *maʿnā* ‘sense’, which are f. in several dialects,[25] indicate that especially the (rare) nouns with three consonants and a pseudo-f. ending are prone to gender change because they have the same word-pattern as very many of the ‘normal’ f. nouns (cf. also Heath 2002:259).

A possible case of gender transformation by phonological attraction in many of the Maghribi dialects is the f. status of words ending in *-t*. Examples of such words include /*bayt*/ ‘house’, /*zayt*/ ‘olive oil’, /*mawt*/ ‘death’, /*ḥūt*/ ‘fish’, /*waqt*/ ‘time’, /*ḥānūt*/ ‘shop’, /*ʿankabūt*/ ‘spider’.[26] In the Arabic dialect of the bilingual Berber Chleuḥ tribe also other nouns such as *qūt* ‘aliment’, *ṣūt* ‘voice’, or *tābūt* ‘cenotaph’ are f. (Destaing 1935–1945:176). Certainly the three natural f.s *bint* ‘daughter’, *uxt* ‘sister’, and *sitt* ‘grandmother’ have had something to do with the gender change from m. to f. gender—a fact already pointed out by Ph. Marçais (1956:326) and others. However, these three words also exist in almost all other Arabic dialects where they have not influenced the gender of other words ending in *-t*. The main reason for the f. gender of many Maghribi Arabic nouns ending in *-t* seems to be not phonological attraction, but the influence of the Berber substrate, since in Berber f. nouns are very often marked by a prefixed and a suffixed *t* (see in detail Destaing 1935–1945:176f).

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[25] E.g. m./f. in Tunis (Singer 1984:446) and always f. in Djidjelli (Ph. Marçais 1956:335); in the latter also *marṣa* ‘harbour’ and others.

[26] Only the last two are m./f. in CA, the rest only m.

3.3.4 *Influence of substrate and adstrate languages*

Despite the case just mentioned, the influence of substrate and adstrate languages on gender change is not very strong. One reason could be that, at least in the Eastern Arab world, the languages Arabic has had the closest contact with, Persian and Turkish, do not have grammatical gender. But even in Maltese the strong impact of Italian (or of Italian dialects) over the centuries has left no significant traces in the gender assignment of Maltese nouns. Romance influences on Siculo Arabic were overestimated by Agiùs (1991): the gender change of such Siculo Arabic words as *qamar, maṭar, baṭn* (m. > f.) or *qadam, iṣbaʿ, sinn, dalw* and *faʾs* (f. > m.; cf. Agiùs 1991:3–6) should probably not be attributed to Romance and/or Berber influence simply because the very same words have changed gender in many other Arabic dialects as well (see above), and, according to Diem (1979:16), the occurrence of the same phenomenon in a second dialect that cannot have been influenced by the assumed substrate of the first dialect implies that the hypothesis of substrate influence can hardly be proved. This case shows how important comparative dialectology is. Even if Agiùs' or Destaing's (1935–1945:181) arguments are convincing with regard to Siculo Arabic and the Moroccan Chleuḥ, they lose some of their persuasiveness when other dialects are considered as well.

We do, however, find a few instances of substrate influence upon the gender of nouns in modern Arabic dialects. Berber influence on Maghribi Arabic is evident in the f. gender of /*ṣūf*/ 'wool' and in food names—*ʿasal, laḥm, samn, šaḥm,* and *milḥ*—whose counterparts in Berber are all f. (cf. Ph. Marçais 1956:334; Destaing 1935–1945: 179–80).

The influence of an Aramaic substrate is perhaps to be seen in the f. gender of *ḥačar* 'stone' in Palmyra (Cantineau 1934:II:196), since in Syriac (*ʾab̠nā*) and other Semitic languages the word for 'stone' is likewise f. (Feghali & Cuny 1924:68).[27] Finally Borg (1985:124) reports that in Cypriot Arabic the influence of Greek on the gender classification is "more extensive than meets the eye". A good example is *paxr* (< *baḥr*) 'sea', which is f. because of the f. of the Greek *t̠álassa.*

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[27] In many dialects 'stone' is a marked f., i.e. *ḥağara*, perhaps in analogy to *šağara* 'tree'.

4. *Summary*

The preceding comparative investigation of unmarked feminines, a subject hitherto neglected in studies of Arabic dialectology, shows that certain of the most frequent assertions in dialectological works are not true when considered in a larger context. First, we find that in the modern Arabic dialects the use of the f. gender for paired body parts is almost exclusively restricted to four of these pairs, *ʿayn, uḏun, yad*, and *riǧl*. And second, the tendency to lexical hypercharacterisation, i.e. the marking of unmarked f. nouns, is much rarer than has been supposed.

Only a few nouns besides the above-mentioned four are still unmarked f. in the vast majority of the dialects: *rūḥ, nafs, šams, arḍ, nār, balad/bilād, dār, ṭarīq/darb*. Thus in their treatment of unmarked f. nouns the Arabic dialects follow the universal linguistic tendency for stability in the gender of basic words, such as those for sun, moon, earth, hand, eye, fire,[28] even when those words are not specifically marked (cf. Ibrahim 1973:55f). Because of their high frequency, such words show a uniformity of gender assignment throughout the history not only of Arabic but of all Semitic languages. In fact, as we have seen, the gender sometimes remains unchanged even if the noun itself has changed. This makes even more remarkable the gender change of such frequent terms such as *raʾs* 'head' and *qamar* 'moon' and the f. gender of the words for 'rain' (*maṭar, šitāʾ*) and 'water', all of which are m. in CA. However, when studying diachronic aspects of the modern Arabic dialects, one must always keep in mind that certain phenomena might not necessarily be the results of later developments, but reflect differences which already existed in the old Arabic dialects. Especially in the case of unmarked f. nouns the conflicting views of the classical grammarians suggest that, in the pre-Islamic dialects of Arabic, the gender treatment of these words was not homogeneous.

A glance at the maps[29] at the end of this article will show that the main difference in gender treatment between Eastern and Western

[28] As already pointed out by Hämeen-Anttila (1999:598), these terms, belonging to the most archaic layer of Arabic, are all not derived from a root.

[29] The maps should give an overall picture of some striking features and are not intended to show any details.

dialects is that the latter possess more unmarked f., including a couple of former m. which have changed gender at least partially because of Berber influence. Otherwise almost each of the five large dialect groups exhibit some characteristics, among them the f. status of *māʾ* 'water' in Syria or *markib* 'ship' and *raʾs* 'head' in Egypt (for more details refer to the maps). Because we lack enough data for most Bedouin dialects, it is difficult to specify the exact differences between Bedouin and sedentary dialects. As far as we can see, the Bedouin dialects on the whole do not seem to be more conservative than the sedentary dialects. But there is at least a slight tendency in the Bedouin dialects for nouns related to nature (see map 2) to retain their f. gender whereas in the sedentary dialects lexemes connected with trade (esp. shops) tend to remain f.

Some of the words discussed above could also well serve as isoglosses, a fact not yet used in language atlases of Arabic. Obviously in forthcoming dialectological works more attention should be given to 'gender studies'.

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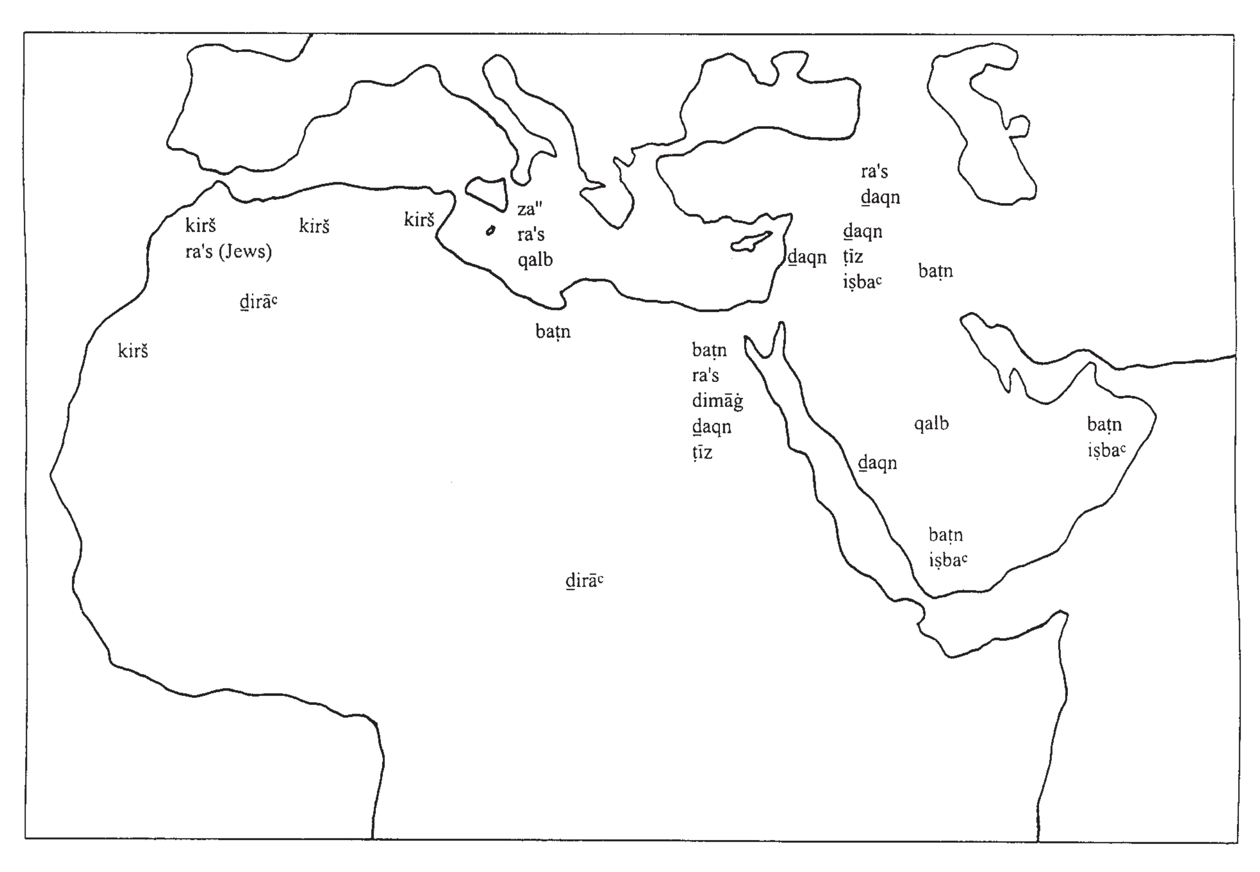
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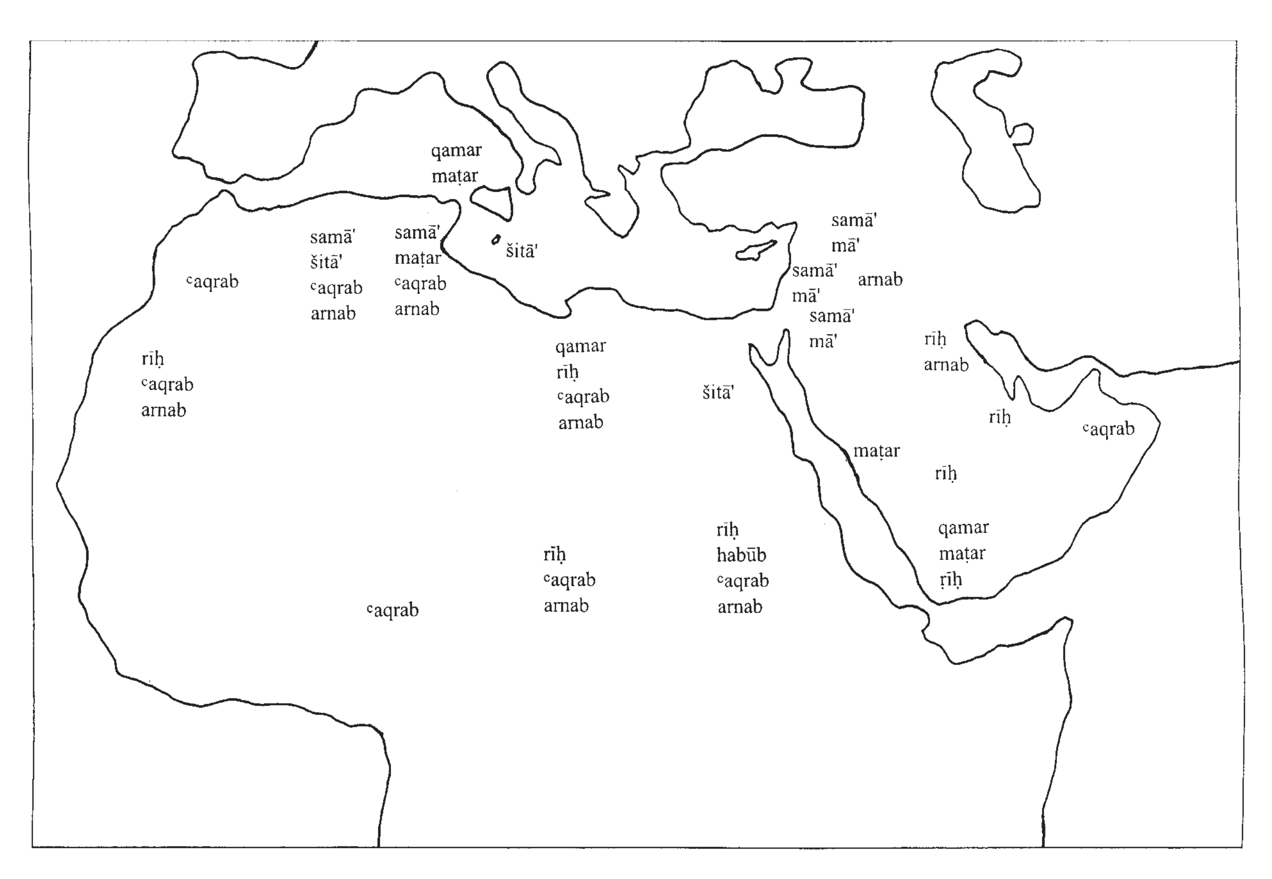
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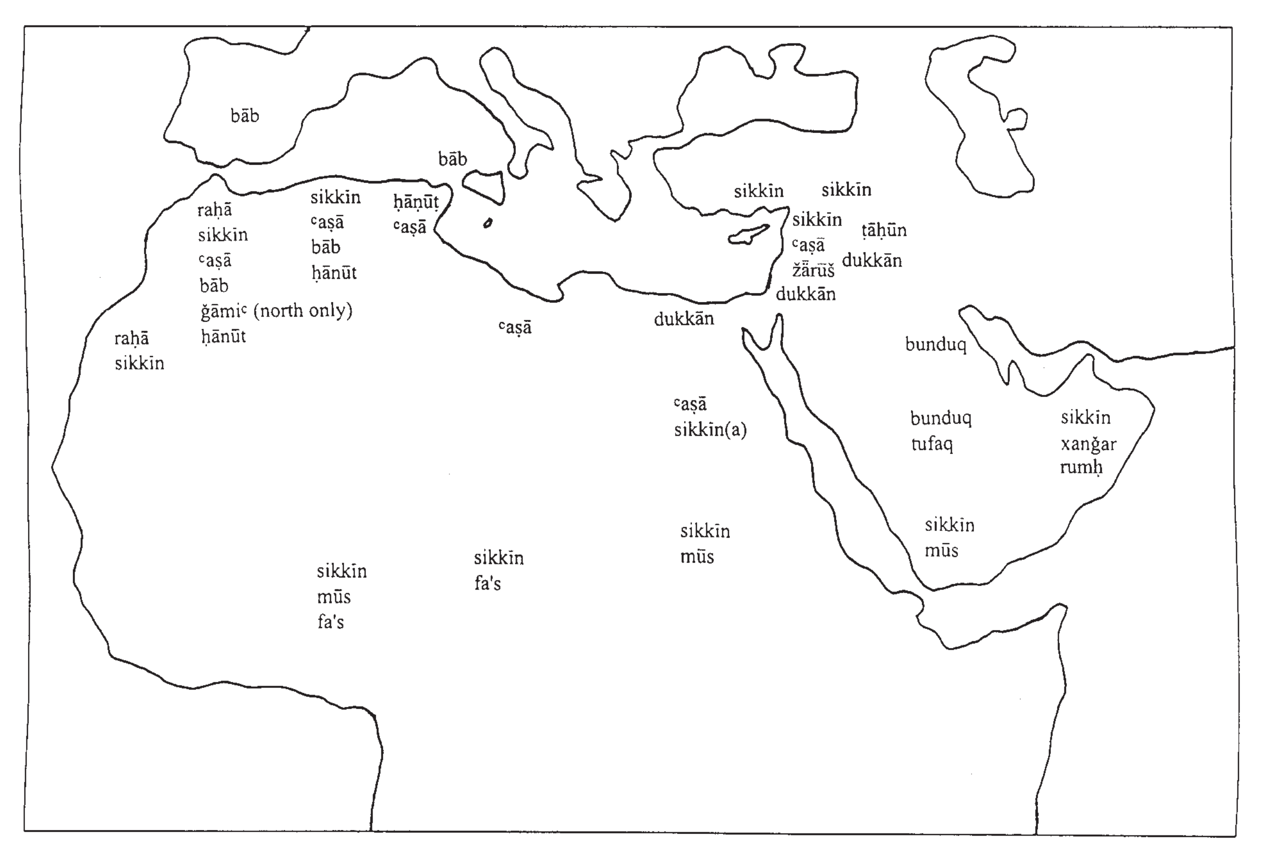
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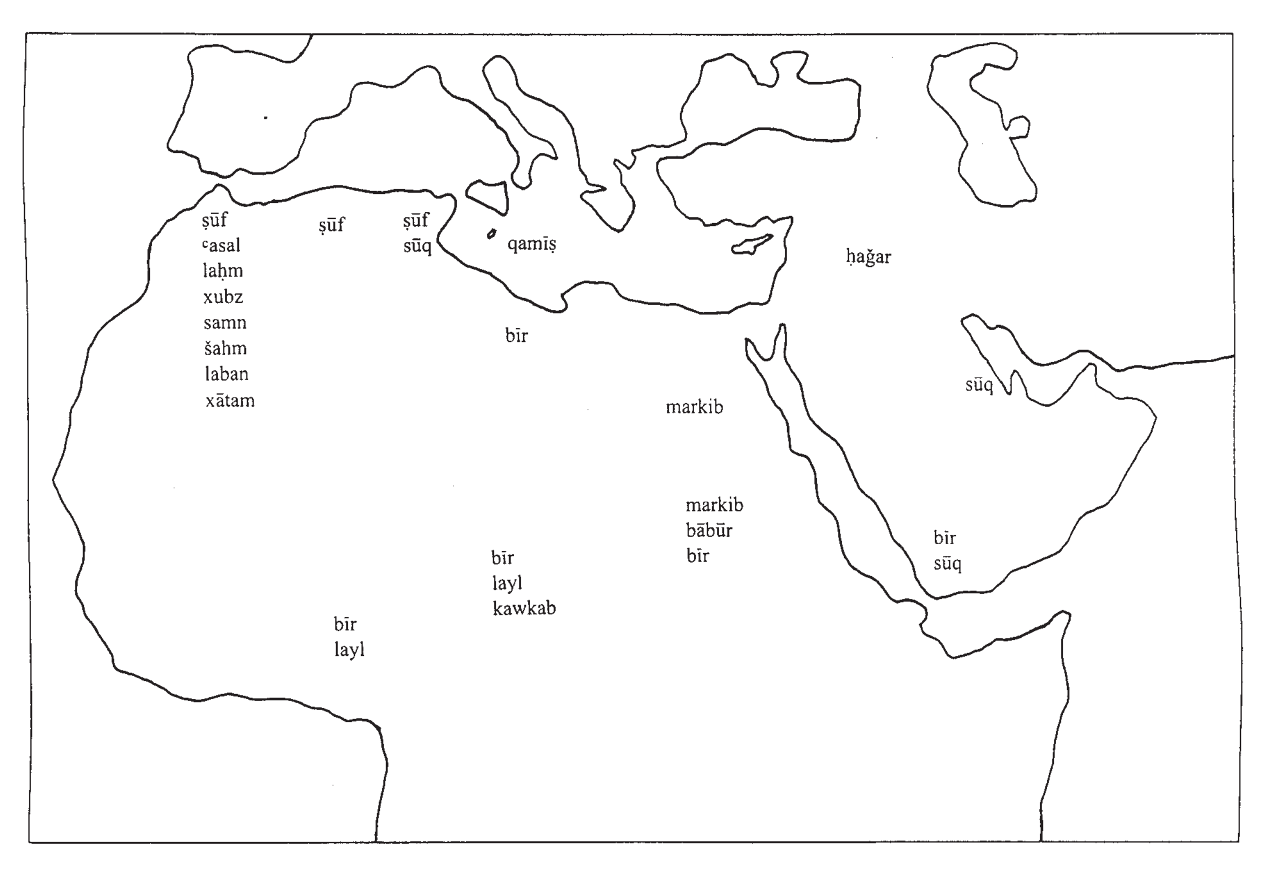
Map 1: **Parts of the Body** (*ʿayn, uḏun, yad, riǧl, rūḥ, nafs* almost everywhere f.)



Map 2: **Nature and Animals** (*šams, arḍ, nār* everywhere f.)



Map 3: **Tools, Weapons, Buildings and Shops** (*dār* almost everywhere f.)


ṣūf
ᶜasal
laḥm
xubz
samn
šahm
laban
xātam
ṣūf
ṣūf
sūq
qamīṣ
ḥağar
bīr
sūq
markib
markib
bābūr
bīr
bīr
sūq
bīr
layl
kawkab
bīr
layl

Map 4: **Varia**

RELATIVE-CLAUSE MARKING IN ARABIC DIALECTS: A PRELIMINARY SURVEY

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1. *Introduction*

Relative clauses are clauses that are embedded in another clause. They are basically of two kinds: 1) those having the function of subject or object, i.e. a complement to a verbal constituent; 2) those being a complement to a nominal constituent. The former category involves those nominal actants which are diathetically movable, i.e. they can be moved up and down in the diathetical hierarchy (passivisation) or in other ways be affected by diathetical modification. This explains why these clauses usually have properties different from clauses functioning as adverbs (adverbial clauses), which are not affected by diathesis. The latter category belongs to the category of complementation or attribution to nouns, which is what one immediately thinks of when relative clauses are mentioned: *the man whom I met yesterday, the professor who is giving a lecture, the house in which I live, the woman whose husband disappeared*. Another classification of these clauses are embedded clauses with and without a head: adverbal (not adverbial!) and adnominal clauses. The former are the clauses which in some European languages are marked with so called determinative pronouns: *that which, the one who* etc.

The relative clause of type 2 belongs to the syntactic device which will here be called complementation to a noun/substantive. This can be effected by three basic constituents: substantives, adjectives, and clauses. The first one can be divided into two kinds: the so-called genitive construction: 'the man's house' where 'house' is specified by the attribute 'the man', and the apposition like 'Mr. So-and-so, the president', 'Cairo, the capital' etc. The second one is the adjective: 'the big house', where 'the house' is specified by the adjective 'big'. The third one is the relative clause of type 2 above.

Nominal complementation

1 by a noun	a) 'the man's house'
	b) 'Mr. So-and-so, the president'
2 by an adjective	'the big house'
3 by a clause	'the house which he built'

The *ʿArabiyya* uses two syntactical devices to mark the categories defined above. For 1b, 2 and 3 it uses what should be called an appositional construction, i.e., a mere juxtaposition of the two elements. For 1a we find a closer connection between the two constituents which is marked by a special form of the head noun. This is the traditional *ʾiḍāfa*-construction, which we shall call here annexation.

A further distinction is the definiteness of the head noun. In the appositional constructions 2 and 3 the complement usually takes a definiteness-marker (*l-*) if the head noun is definite. The clausal complement also adds an introductory particle *la-* + a demonstrative element when the head is definite.

In the spoken forms of the language we call Arabic we mostly find similar constructions although with different kinds of introductory particles to the clausal complement. The study of these contructions in Arabic has usually focused on the presence or absence of the introductory particle of the clausal complement, as well as the similar particle employed for construction 1a and its morphology.[1] A study of these types of embedded clauses and their morphosyntactic representation should, however, pay closer attention to their syntactic function than has been done in the past. This becomes crucial in comparative and diachronic studies. The present article is an attempt to move the attention from morphology to a more distinctive syntactic characterisation of the nominal complementation. This is the reason for the somewhat different terminology used here.

2. *Relative clauses in Arabic dialects*

Like the *ʿArabiyya*, the modern dialects tend to use an introductory particle to mark the clausal complement to a definite head noun. We will start with a short survey of the different kinds of particle used for this purpose. The most common is *(ʾə)lli* with a variant *halli*

[1] Eksell Harning (1980).

or *yalli*. This is found in the entire Nile-valley below Nubia, almost the entire Arabian peninsula, Syria, the *gilit*-dialects of Iraq and it also dominates in North Africa, both in the countryside and in the cities. Its main characteristic is the geminated *l*.[2] There are some variations with an ungeminated *l: (a)lī* or *l(a/ē)*. This variant is basically found in the so-called *qəltu* complex, i.e. the sedentary dialects spoken in Northern Mesopotamia and Anatolia. It occurs sporadically also in the Gulf area, Syria and North Africa. The idiosyncratic dialects in Central Asia use this particle too, which links them to the Arabic spoken in Mesopotamia.[3] There is further a variety that probably should be distinguished from these others, viz. *al*.[4] All dialects employing this device will be called *l*-dialects for the moment.[5]

There is a much smaller group of dialects which use a particle containing a dental stop: *(a/i)ddi, d(i)* or *da*. The stop is most likely originally an interdental. We also find here a variation between gemination and non-gemination as well as a prefixed and suffixed vowel. This is a characteristic of several dialects in North Africa. In many of them it occurs together with the *lli*-particle.[6]

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[2] Grotzfeldt 1965, Fischer & Jastrow (1980:231, 235ff, 246 text B:4 etc. (Egypt), 258 (Benghazi, Tunis), Schabert (1976:75) (Malta), M. Cohen (1912:349) (Alger J), Grand'Henry (1972:140), Grand'Henry (1976:67) (Mzāb) (Cherchell), Harrell (1962:164), Heath (2002:494f) (Morocco), D. Cohen (1963:157) (Mauritania), Erwin (1963:379f) (Baghdad M), Ingham (1980:103/1.10, 16, 109/2.10, 16, 113/3.10, 13, 52, 121/5.14, 33 etc.) (Central and North Arabia), 179/15.47 (Khuzistan), Schreiber (1971:32) (Mecca), Johnstone (1967:67) (Baḥrayn), Behnstedt (1985:65) (Yemen), Landberg (1901:367). This survey is far from exhaustive but the general picture is clear.

[3] Behnstedt (1985:65) (Yemen), Johnstone (1967:67, 1961:254) (Eastern Arabia), Axvlediani (1985:54) (Central Asia), Erwin (1963:379ff) (Baghdad M), Jastrow (1978:123f) (Anatolia), Arnold (1998:114) (Antakya), Procházka (1999:74) (Cilicia), Cowell (1964:505) (Lebanon), Singer (1984:271) (Tunis M), D. Cohen (1975:218) (Tunis J), Saada (1981:97) (Southern Tunisia), Grand'Henry (1972:140) (Cherchell), W. Marçais (1908:158) (Ūlād Bṛāhīm Western Algeria), Schabert (1976:75) (Malta).

[4] Kaye (1969:102, 106), Reichmuth (1983:121) (Sudan), Roth (1979:175f), Owens (1993:88) (Chad), Rosenhouse (1984:83).

[5] There are a few regions where we find a particle which resembles the one in the *ʿArabiyya (a)llaḏī*: parts of Yemen (Ṣanʿāʾ, Watson 1993:230ff); Manāxa, Werbeck (2001:297); Daṯīna, Landberg (1901:70.30, 71.14), sporadically in Central Arabia (Kurpershoek (1999:2.20 *alliḏi*, 6:21 *illiḏi*); Baḥrayn, Holes (1983:30, 1990:58, 180 *iladi*); Qatar, Johnstone (1967:128). In most of them we also find *illi* as the more frequent particle. An original variant which stands quite isolated is *bu* which occurs in Reinhardt's material from Oman, cf. also Brockett (1985:64).

[6] Fischer & Jastrow (1980:258–259), Heath (2002:494f). Perhaps also Cyprus *ta* belongs here (Borg 1985:145). The most remarkable of all dialectal areas is Yemen where we find all the variants, both those with *l* and those with *d*, see Behnstedt (1985:65).

Compared with this, the *ʿArabiyya* exhibits something which looks like a compromise: *(a)llaḏī* looks like a combination of the *l-* and *d*-particles. Furthermore, in the *ʿArabiyya* there is agreement between the head and the particle in number and gender but not in case except in the dual.[7]

As has been pointed out, the relationship between the head and its clause complement in the *ʿArabiyya* is of the same kind as that between an adjective and a head noun. The syntactic relation should be described as an apposition. From the form of the head noun it appears that this is also the case in most of the dialects. In a group of *l*-dialects, however, the relationship between the head noun and the clausal complement is different. Compare the following examples:

1. *sant il-fātat* 'the year that has passed' (Erwin 1963:386)
2. *ḥənṭət lətəyəḥṭīk* 'the grain that he is going to give you' (Jastrow 1978:124)
3. *zalamat lə-maʿu xanǧar* 'the person who has a knife' (Sasse 1971:131)
4. *zlimt as-sōlafta minu* 'the man with whom you spoke who is he?' (Procházka, Urfa)[8]
5. *ʿarbāyt il xadta ʿaǧabta* 'I like the car I bought' (Procházka 1999:158)
6. *bī ʾālet tinxol ṭaḥīn* 'there is a machine which sieves the flour' (Behnstedt 1994:178)
7. *sint iž-žāyi* 'next year' (Jiha 1964:172)
8. *sənt əl-ṣār baṭrak* 'the year he became patriarch' (Féghali 1928:361)
9. *min sanat ǧābat fiḍḍaw brahīm* 'from the year when F gave birth to B' (Holes 1984:28)
10. *min sanat illi tuʿṭīha ziyāra* 'the year when she would pay for her to visit the Holy Places' (Holes 1984:28)
11. *sāʿat bidēt ar-riǧm* 'the time when I climbed the rock' (Kurpershoek 1999:7.4)

From the form of the noun it appears that it is in the construct state. The relationship between the head and the complement is thus the same as in an *ʾiḍāfa*-construction, i.e. annexation. We observe that this construction may occur with clauses with or without an introductory particle, usually the ungeminated variant. The parallel between nominal and clausal complementation probably means that

[7] There is, however, evidence from the *ʿArabiyya* tradition that the *l-* of the definite article could be used: *man lā yazālu šākiran ʿalā l-maʿahu* 'the one who is always thankful for that which he has' etc.

[8] This example was presented by Stephan Procházka in a handout at the AIDA conference in Cádiz, September 2002 and will be published in the proceedings.

at least the ungeminated *l*-element should be interpreted as the definite article. This way of handling clausal complements is the rule in the Anatolian *qəltu*-dialects and also in the dialect in Cilicia. In the Muslim dialect of Baghdad it is said to be "never obligatory but fairly common in some cases".[9] Its occurrence in the Gulf (Shiʿite), in some Bedouin dialects in central Arabia as well as in Syrian Arabic is sporadic and seems limited to some standing expressions, most often with head nouns denoting time.

Among the *d*-dialects we likewise find a group where the clausal and nominal complementation (1a) are marked in the same way:

12. *ər-rāžəl əddi ža* 'the man who came' (Ph. Marçais 1956:493)
13. *l-ḥāl əddi xūyi* 'the condition of my brother' (Ph. Marçais 1956:418)
14. *əl-məfts əddi ssemma* 'the mufti who was called' (W. Marçais 1902:175)
15. *əl-ktsāb əddi xāy* 'my brother's book' (W. Marçais 1902:172)
16. *l-bluġat di xdimts* 'the slippers I made' (Stillman 1988:50)
17. *li-ʾabura di rabbi Müsi* 'to the grave of Rabbi M.' (Stillman 1988:52)
18. *m-zzlwá di sivilya* 'from the expulsion from S.' (Brunot & Malka 1939:2/3.17)
19. *lxədma d-l-komite* 'the service of the committee' (Brunot & Malka 1939:38/39.9)

Unlike the annexational construction discussed previously this one is obviously appositional, as can be seen from the absolute form of the preceding noun. This parallel construction of nominal and clausal complementation marking the complement with the same *d*-element is found in some *madani* dialects in the Maghrib: Djidjelli, Tlemcen and, above all, many of the Jewish *madani* dialects in Morocco (see Heath 2002, maps). Arabic dialects can thus be divided into two main groups according to the handling of clausal complementation:

1) appositional marking of clausal complementation, annexational marking of nominal complementation. There is thus a clear differentiation between the two types of complementation.
2) identical marking of both clausal and nominal complementation, either by annexation of both with or without an *l*-particle marking the second element or by apposition with a *d*-particle marking the second element.

We may call the dialects of group 1 differentiating and of group 2 non-differentiating.

[9] Erwin (1963:386).

The annexation can also appear with adjectival complement, i.e. construction 2 above:

20. *ʿēn iz-zarga* 'blue eye' (Erwin 1963:307)
21. *sant iğ-ğāya* 'next year' (Erwin 1963:307)
22. *ʿarabāyt il-xaḍra* 'the green car' (Procházka 1999:152)
23. *sūʾ əl-ʿaṭīʾ* 'the old suq' (Grotzfeld 1965:93)

This device seems to be limited to certain classes of words and expressions. It is quite widely spread in the Arabic dialects, both in differentiating and non-differentiating ones.[10]

3. *Relative clauses in the* ʿArabiyya *tradition*

These phenomena are not unknown to the *ʿArabiyya*-tradition. As is well known, the *ʿArabiyya* regularly employs annexation for nominal complementation of type 1a, i.e. the traditional *ʾiḍāfa*. Compare the following examples of annexational clausal complementation from the ancient poetry:[11]

24. *xīfata yaḥmīhā (yaḥmiyahā?) banū ʾummi ʿağrada* 'from fear that the ʾUmm ʿAğrad tribe would protect them' (ʾAxṭal 92.6)
25. *maḍat miʾatun li-ʿāmi wulidtu fīhi* 'one hundred years have passed since I was born' (Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb aš-šiʿr wa-š-šuʿarāʾ* 162.5)
26. *ḏāka ʾawānu ʾabṣarta ṭ-ṭarīqa* 'this [was] the time when you saw the road' (*Ḥamāsa* 57.25)

This complementation is quite common with nouns denoting time which have developed into conjunctions of temporal clauses:

27. *laylata ṣāḥū* 'in the night when they shouted' (*Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* 1.5)
28. *yawma lāqaw ḏuʾaybata* 'the day they met Dhuʾayba' (*Huḏayliyya* 58.1)
29. *sāʿata tuṣnaʿu* 'in the moment in which it is being made' (Ibn Hišām, *Sīra* 614.20)

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[10] There is some uncertainty about expressions like *bənt əlkwayyse, sūʾ əl-ʿaṭīʾ* etc. since they can be interpreted in two ways: as annexations or as archaic appositional constructions with the definite article only on the complement. In the *ʿArabiyya* the annexational status is indicated by the case endings (here in bold print): bayt**u** l-muqaddas**i**, which leaves no doubt. It has been suggested (De Goeje in Wright 1974:II, 233 note) that the annexational device in the *ʿArabiyya* is a secondary learned construction and that we originally are dealing with an ancient apposition with only the complement marked for definiteness. This was rejected by Reckendorf (1921:65).

[11] For these examples and others of the same kind see Reckendorf (1921:389ff).

In these examples the *ʿArabiyya* does not employ any particle as marker of the annexed clause. There are, however, also such examples where the particle *mā* is used:[12]

30. *mā tarā raʾya mā narā* 'you do not think what we think' (Zuhayr 15.17)
31. *al-mustaqillū kaṯīri mā wahabū* 'those who consider the abundance they have given small' (Kumayt 3.69)

The *ʿArabiyya* can use this particle construction also with a nominal *ʾiḍāfa*:

32. *ġaḍibta min ġayri mā ǧurmin* 'you are angry without any offence [being made]'
33. *fī kulli mā ʿāmin talid* 'in every year when she gives birth'
34. *yā šāta mā qanaṣin* 'o, you animal of hunting' (ʿAnṭara, *Muʿallaqa* 57)

The annexation of adjectival complementation is also well known from *ʿArabiyya* texts from the earliest time to the present day:[13]

35. *baytu l-muqaddasi* 'the holy temple [= Jerusalem]'
36. *bābu ṣ-ṣaġīri* 'the small gate'
37. *ǧānibu l-ġarbiyyi* 'the western side'

The *ʿArabiyya* basically belongs to the differentiating group, clearly distinguishing between clausal and nominal complementation, the former being appositional, the latter annexational. At the same time, it contains elements which are found in our non-differentiating group viz, the *l*-dialects, under certain circumstances allowing annexation of complement clauses.

4. *Conclusion*

An important difference between the Maghribi non-differentiating dialects and those of Mesopotamia etc. is that in the former there seems to be no trace of this construction with adjectival complementation. The *d*-linking affects only nominal heads with nominal (non-adjectival) or clause complement. Another important observation is that this parallel between clausal and nominal complementation is

[12] Reckendorf (1921:408ff).
[13] Reckendorf (1921:140).

found in a few of the *madani*-dialects in the Maghreb, and predominantly in the Jewish ones. These dialects are commonly assumed to belong to the earliest stage of Arabic in North Africa, representing an ancient stratum in the spoken forms of the language. The investigators of Maghribi Arabic seem to agree that the *d*-marking of clausal complementation as well as of the nominal one is a receding feature, giving way to the employment of *ʾilli* for the former and *ntāʿ* etc. for the latter. The development thus seems to be from non-differentiating to differentiating type. And in the same way, there seems to be agreement that the *qəltu*-dialects constitute the old Arabic spoken in Mesopotamia which has been reduced to the periphery in the Northern Ǧazīra and Anatolia, as well as the Jewish and Christian communities in the old cities in Mesopotamia. Also the Shīʿite dialects in Baḥrayn represent an early stratum in the Gulf and there are indications that the *qəltu* type once had a much wider distribution also in Syria.

Since it is usually assumed that in Maghribi Arabic the 'analytical construction' with *d-* etc. has replaced the *ʾiḍāfa*-construction with nominal complementation, one might also assume that the same procedure has occurred with the clausal complementation. If the *d*-constructions of the nominal complementation has replaced the older *ʾiḍāfa*-construction, this means that both the forebears of the Maghribi *d*-dialects discussed here and those of the *qəltu*-dialects originally used the same constructions for nominal and clausal complementation. Both used annexational constructions. In both cases we would thus have a group of Arabic dialects where we should assume a stage when nominal and clausal complementation were expressed with the nominal head in the construct state. It is perhaps no coincidence that we find this both in Maghribi and Mesopotamian Arabic. It has become clearer through our increased acquaintance with the spoken forms of Arabic, especially the *qəltu*-complex, that there are several interesting similarities between these two dialectal groups. As far as the identical annexational marking of clausal and nominal complementation is concerned, it appears as an archaic feature, giving way to the more common and predominant appositional marking with the former, which, at the same time, generates a differentiation between the marking of the two types of complementation, similar to what we find in the standard *ʿArabiyya*.

The implications of this evidence for the historical development of Arabic will not be treated here. Suffice it to point out the fact

that the appositional construction with a particle marking both the nominal and clausal complements is found in most forms of Aramaic which even use the same element, *d*. If we assume that the development in both the Arabic dialects in question and Aramaic has started from a system with annexation, we could imagine an intermediary stage where we find both annexation and apposition with particle marking. This is exactly the case in Akkadian which uses both annexation and apposition with *ša* both for nominal and clausal complementation. Also in Sabaean we find a similar mixture. The Arabic dialects are not unique in their way of handling complementations of this kind. The close parallel between some of them and other Semitic languages demands an explanation. Parallel development or common heritage? Common opinion tends to favour the former. The latter raises completely new questions about the history of the language complex called Arabic, questions which are well worth posing. This article is part of a larger project where these and other questions will be posed and, hopefully, answered.

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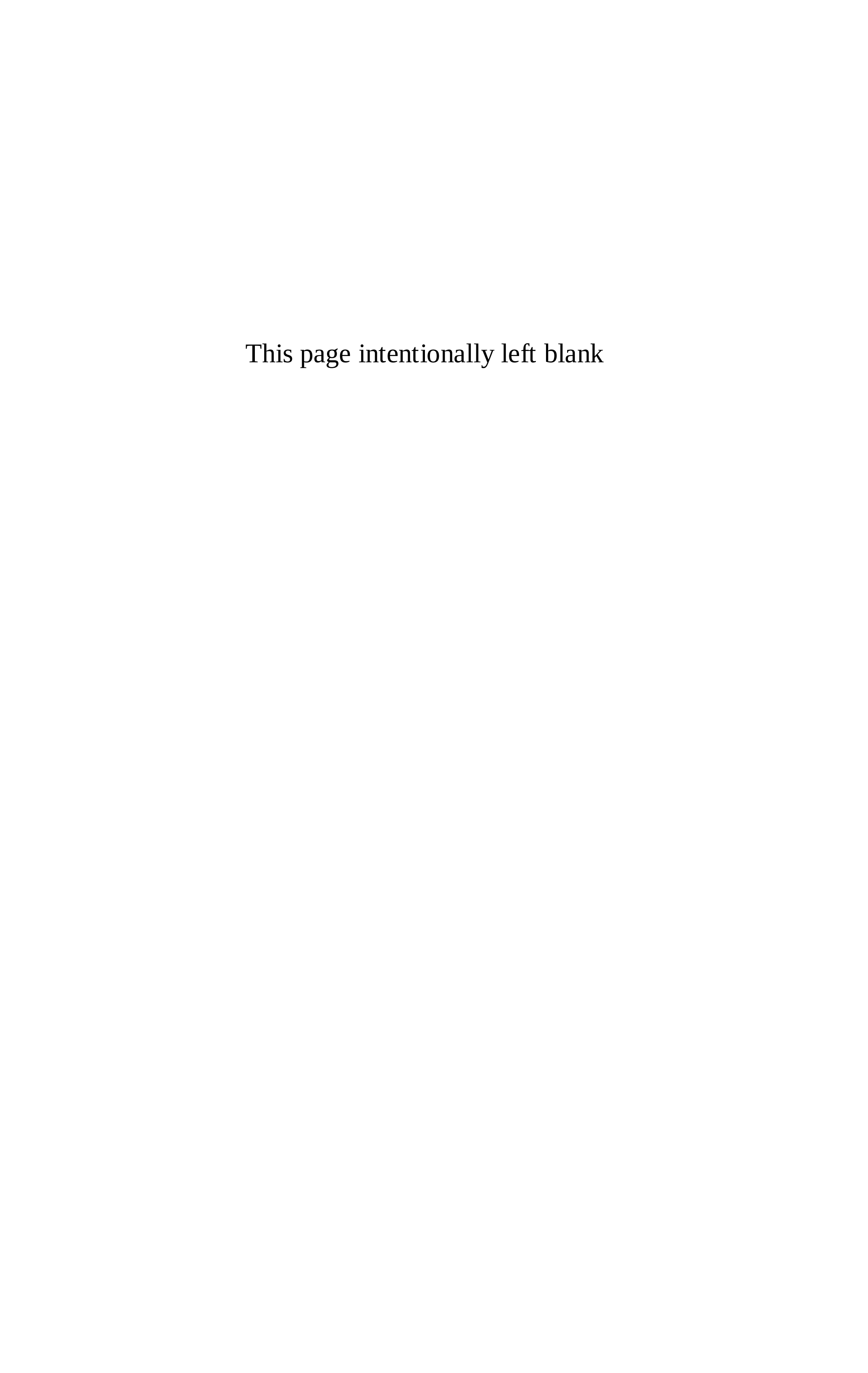
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ON VERBAL NOUNS IN COLLOQUIAL AND LITERARY ARABIC[1]

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1. *Introduction*

This paper focuses on the use of verbal nouns (VNs), which in Arabic are called *maṣdar* forms. Verbal nouns are the fixed forms associated to the Arabic verb Measures or Forms (*ʾawzān*, in Arabic). Following Measure I, which uses numerous nominal patterns as verbal nouns (e.g., *ʿilm* 'knowledge', *ṭalab* 'request', *dirāsa* 'learning', *sariqa* 'theft', *duxūl* 'entrance', *suʾāl* 'question', *maʿād* 'return', *mağrā* 'flow'), each of Measure II (e.g., *taʿlīm* 'teaching', *tarbiya* 'education'), Measure III (e.g., *firāq* 'parting (with)', *muʿālağa* 'looking after, caring for'), Measure IV (*ʾikrām* 'respecting', *ʾišāra* 'pointing at') and Measure X (*ʾistiʿmāl* 'making use of, using' and *ʾistiqāma* 'straightening out') have two forms.[2] The other VNs of Measures V, (*taġallub* 'overcoming') VI (*takātub* 'correspondence'), VII (*ʾinfiğār* 'explosion') VIII (*ʾištirāk* 'participation') and IX (*ʾiḥmirār* 'reddening') have one form.[3]

There are some differences between the forms of VNs in Colloquial Arabic (CA) and Literary Arabic (LA), here usually referred to as Modern Literary Arabic (MLA) and Classical Literary Arabic (CLA). The differences between VNs in (M)LA and CA can be phonological (e.g., MLA *daʿwa*/CA *daʿwe* 'invitation'), morphological (MLA *tarāsul*/CA *mrāsale* 'correspondence'), lexical (MLA *taḥadduṯ*/CA *ḥaki* 'talking') or syntactic (e.g., governing or not governing an object). These differences are the topic of this paper.

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[1] This article is cordially dedicated to Prof. Manfred Woidich and is an expanded version of a paper presented at NACAL 29, Toronto, Ont., 2001. I am grateful for the comments made by several participants in that conference and by the editors of the present volume who contributed to its final form.

[2] The second form in each Measure is usually limited to roots where the 2nd or 3rd root consonant (C2 or C3) is *w/y*.

[3] Classical Literary Arabic employs, in addition, the form of the singular passive participle in certain Measures in the function of VNs, e.g., *munṭalaq* 'starting point', *murtafaʿ* 'rising [landscape]', *mustaqbal* 'time of future meeting' etc.

In grammars or descriptions of the Arabic language, little attention has been paid to VNs, which are usually presented in the morphological chapters of the nominal or verbal system, with just some short notes about their use. Brockelmann (1908, vol. I), for example, refers to them as nouns that appear with various affixes, and adds explanations about their meanings, which are related to the basic meanings of the respective verb Measure. Wright (1958, vol. I) includes them in a list of deverbal nouns and mentions additional patterns that were used in Literary Arabic (LA). Wright also writes, following Arab grammarians, that the name *maṣdar* is derived from the view that these forms are the origin of the verb forms (which stands in contradiction to the view that they are derived of verbs). Shartouny (1958) defines the *maṣdar* as "what denotes a situation or event without time", and presents the *maṣdar* forms without any further comment. Later on in his book he mentions certain syntactic functions and features of the *maṣdar*. Fischer (1972) describes the use of LA *maṣdar* forms (i.e., their syntactic aspect) as identical to their use in the inflected verb. He adds, as do some of the other sources, that a *maṣdar* governs the direct object directly, just like inflected verb forms (e.g., *ḍarbuka ʾaxāhu* 'your hitting his brother'). Cantarino (1975:II, 401–406) also discusses verbal nouns from the syntactic angle, as described in the Arab grammarians' grammars, and adds examples from MLA texts. Fischer (1991:211) dedicates a section to the verbal nouns. He writes about their syntactic behavior that they "behave like other nouns, taking case markers and definiteness/indefiniteness and may be the head of a genitive construction". The rest of that section refers to the forms of VNs in the various Measures. Such short descriptions treat only surface forms and structures.

When looking for descriptions of VNs in CA, we came up with equally little information. Dialect descriptions usually present the forms of VNs by verb Measures (cf. Grotzfeld 1965, Tomiche 1960, Mitchell 1962, Erwin 1963, Sabuni 1980, Qafisheh 1977, Owens 1984, Durand 1994), and in some studies such lists do not appear at all (e.g., Levin 1994). Behnstedt (1987), on the other hand, cites only a few special forms, which are implicitly to be compared, apparently, to the well-known patterns of VNs of the ten CA/MLA verb Measures.

The fact that there is no consensus among linguists about VNs, and how to describe them, suggests that the VNs are multifaceted. VNs may be studied from the morphological and syntactic aspects, as most of the literature does, or from the semantic (and phono-

logical) aspects, which we study here. Morphologically, a VN is a singular form, but in some cases it may receive the plural suffix and reflect plural activities, either as a real noun or as multiple occurrences of the verbal activity. Thus, semantic processes may affect the lexical meaning and syntactic function of the word form.

The fact that LA and CA vary in their use of the VNs is not unknown to students of Arabic (which indeed was our initial impression), but we have not found any study dedicated to the topic. In a previous study comparing MLA with CA based on dictionary entries (Rosenhouse, 2002, whose main findings are summarized in Appendix A below), we found behavioral differences in the occurrence of the VNs between CA and LA. Here, however, we use a different method, to be described shortly. Following that, we present our findings and conclusions.

2. *Method and material*

In Rosenhouse (2002) we reviewed lexical aspects of this topic, as manifest in the dictionary.[4] The analysis led to several major syntactic-semantic, morphological, and phonological factors that were involved in the normal use of CA and MLA VNs (cf. Appendix A). That analysis did not refer to statistics but to principles. In the present paper we take up this topic by scanning the occurrence of VNs in real texts. We survey several texts in CLA, MLA, and CA from various dialects. Due to differences in page size, font size, pictures, etc. the length of the excerpts (in page numbers) is not exactly identical. The quantity in number of words per text (per dialect) is of the same order of magnitude, however, and seems sufficient for at least a preliminary study of this sort. The selection of material was determined by the following criteria:

[4] Based on a list of Hebrew VNs of the first five alphabet letters in Even-Shushan's (1974) dictionary, we set out to look for the translation of these forms into LA and CA, aided by several bilingual dictionaries, such as Elihay (1977, 1999), Wehr (1960) and Ayalon & Shinar (1947). This process yielded two parallel lists of VNs in LA and CA, where various translation difficulties were encountered in spite of the dictionaries. The lists were then classified into types by translation difficulty and analyzed.

(1) Similar text types, i.e. stories as genre.
(2) Eastern CA texts, as well as Eastern (Egyptian and Iraqi) MLA stories.
(3) Sedentary and Bedouin dialects of the Eastern Arabic dialect area.
(4) Texts dating from a relatively recent period in the second half of the 20th century (except for Schmidt and Kahle's [1918] texts, used for purposes of comparison).
(5) In the LA stories we looked for a fluent narrative style, to be comparable to the dialectal stories.

We counted the VNs in the texts and classified them first by measure and then by function. Due to the fact that this was a random sample of a limited scope, we did not run any statistical tests and merely found the percentage. Still, certain tendencies of frequency and occurrence emerged even at this stage and are reported. The following texts were studied:

CLA: (1) *Kalīla wa-Dimna.*
MLA: (1) *Zaʿbalāwi*—a story by Nagīb Maḥfūẓ
(2) *at-Tannūr*—a story by the Iraqi writer Fūʾād at-Takarlī
(3) *al-ʾUrǧūḥa*—a story by the Iraqi writer Muḥammad Ḥuḍayr

Reference to the Koran is added to the main study by way of comparison, in Table 1 and Appendix B, adapting data from Talmon (1996) to our study.

Colloquial Dialects:

(1) The Alexandrian dialect (Behnstedt & Woidich 1987) (24 pp.)
(2) The Sinai Bedouin dialect (Stewart 1988) (13 pp.)
(3) The Negev Bedouin dialect (Henkin 1985) (1–13)
(4) Galilee Bedouin dialect (Rosenhouse 1984:180–188, 192–200)
(5) Sedentary Palestinian Arabic (Miron & Kabha 1993) (48 pp.)
(6) Sedentary Jordanian Arabic (Palva 1969, 1970) (16 pp.)
(7) Mardin (Qəltu) dialect (Jastrow 1981) (20 pp.)
(8) Damascus Arabic (Grotzfeld 1965) (8 pp.)
(9) Aleppine Arabic (Sabuni 1980) (16 pp.)
(10) Baghdadi Judeo-Arabic (Mansour 1977) (28 pp.)

Clearly, there are basic linguistic and discourse differences among the stories included in this selection, especially between the LA and CA groups. Yet, they also share common features, which makes it

possible to make a comparison between them. For example, the narrators were all male speakers, and all the stories abound in dialogues and have relatively few descriptions. At the start it was also unclear to what degree dialect and text type affected VN use and occurrence (for example, whether 'artistic colloquial', in Palva's (1992) term, was used in the CA stories rather than 'simple colloquial'). We did not take this last point into consideration in this study, which means that its findings should be treated with some reserve.

3. *Findings*

We summarize our findings in the following points, based on the data found in the texts studied. See Table 1 and Table 2 below for detailed figures.

Table 1. *Verbal nouns in Literary Arabic texts*

Text	Page no.; word no.	VNs (no.)	VNs per total no. of words (%)	VNs of non-measure-I verbs (no.)	VN percent: non-measure I/total VNs	VNs above-measure-III/non-measure-I VN (rates and %):
Koran. Note: VNs noted here are only *maf'ūl muṭlaq*	(see Talmon 1996)	64		30	46.8%	4/30 (13.3%)
Kalīla wa-Dimna	30; 3555	187	5.3	43	23%	20/43 (46.5%)
Ẓa'balāwi	12; 2515	121	4.8	43	35.5%	32/43 (74.4%)
al-ʾUrǧūḥa	11; 2042	32	1.6	13	40%	10/13 (76.9%)
at-Tannūr	6; 1588	27	1.7	16	59.25%	10/16 (62.5%)

Table 2. *Verbal nouns (VNs) in various Colloquial Arabic texts*

Text	Page no.; word no.	VNs (no.)	VNs per total no. of words (%)	VNs of non-measure-I verbs (no.)	VN percent: non-measure I/total VNs	VNs above-measure-III/non-measure I VNs (rates and %):
Alexandria	12; 3001	13	0.43	0	—	0/0 (0)
Sinai Bedouin	14; 2909	24	0.8	2	8.3%	0/2 (0)
Negev Bedouin	13; 3322	10	0.3	0	—	0/0 (0)
Galilee Bedouin	16; 2970	21	0.7	2	9.5%	0/2 (0)
Palestinian (Miron & Kabha)	48; 3102	11	0.35	2	18.6%	2/2 (100%)
Jordanian	12; 3785	28	0.7	6	21.4%	4/6 (66.%)
Mardin (Qəltu)	10; 2055	9	0.44	0	—	0/0 (0)
Damascus	8; 3078	17	0.55	1	5.8%	0/1 (0)
Aleppine	17; 2825	26	0.9	1	3.8%	0/1 (0)
Baghdadi Judeo-Ar.	28; 2253	12	0.53	3	25%	2/4 (50%)

3.1 *Distribution and frequency*

1. The most obvious feature is the distinction between LA and CA as revealed in the sheer number of occurrences (tokens) of VNs and their percentage in relation to total word number. All the LA texts have a much larger rate of VNs than the CA texts, which may be related to the preference of mainly MLA to nominal structures (Rosenhouse 1990)
2. It is impossible to distinguish, as regards VN use, between the CA texts on the basis of the social criterion, i.e., sedentary vs. Bedouin dialects.
3. As expected, the number of VNs of Measure I is by far larger

than VNs in the other measures in all the studied texts. This is in line with the fact that the frequency of measure I verbs is much larger than the frequency of verbs in other measures; a similar observation could be made in relation to the use of the passive (Rosenhouse 1991–1992). This is a basic characteristic of the Arabic lexicon.

4. From the data of Tables 1 and 2 we suggest three levels of frequency of non-Measure I VNs in the selected texts: up to 10%, around 20% and above 25%. The highest rate of non-Measure I VNs is in the three MLA texts; the lowest rate is in the Bedouin texts as well as in the texts from Alexandria and Mardin. The sedentary-colloquial dialects, as well as the CLA text (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*), fall in between these extremes. The picture is thus very complex.
5. To examine the possibility of time effects on VNs use, we checked also several stories in Schmidt & Kahle (1918), which reflect Palestinian sedentary speakers from about the beginning of the 20th century. The results we get from 10 text pages there do not differ much from the other colloquial texts: a relatively small number of verbal nouns (26), of which 1 is in Measure II, and the rest in Measure I. Included in these are two VNs which occurred as an absolute accusative (*mafʿūl muṭlaq*) following an inflected verb. This suggests that the rate of use of VNs in CA in the 20th century was relatively stable, at least in this region.
6. If we analyze now the rate of VNs above Measure-III we get the following picture: The four LA texts have relatively high (and very high) frequency of VNs related to the Measures that are above Measure-III. In contrast, this is not found in the colloquial texts for instance, in the Palestinian Arabic and Jordanian texts. This picture seems distinctive (probably statistically significant) between the LA and CA texts.
7. There is a big difference between the occurrence of VNs in the CLA (46.5%) and MLA (62.5%, 74.4%, 76.9%) texts. This suggests structural difference between them, justifying their independent sub-grouping within LA (also from this point of view). It should be recalled, however, that *Kalīla wa-Dimna* is a narrative text in the form of a popular folk story (animal fables). In spite of its early date, also from this respect it may have been already on the way to the CA features as we see them nowadays.

3.2 *Functioning*

1. Certain CA verbs have no VN form due to semantic features of the verb form (see Rosenhouse, 2002). In such cases, CA usually uses a verbal paraphrase such as 'that (he) will do/become/be . . .'. This hardly ever occurs in LA, especially not in MLA, which prefers (in particular in journalese) nominal structures, following the Western language style (Rosenhouse 1990).
2. Verbal nouns share with nouns certain features, e.g., number (sg./pl.) or taking part in construct structures (*ʾiḍāfa* in Arabic) with a noun or a personal pronoun suffixed to them. This syntactic similarity to nouns sometimes blurs the semantic boundaries between VNs and 'regular' nouns.
3. Semantically, VNs are linked to the verb Measure they are associated with. Certain VNs, however, form suppletive systems with the inflected verbs by using the verbal noun of a Measure different from the Measure of the inflected verb. This tendency is relatively stronger in cases where the verb is inflected in Measures above III, in accordance with the tendency described above. Suppletion is not specific to VNs, of course, but should be noted also for VNs.
4. In certain cases, VNs are used as an absolute accusative (*mafʿūl muṭlaq*, MM), i.e. following (or even preceding in prolepsis) an inflected verb of the same root with the same sense. In many such cases the VN is used mainly as a paronomastic emphasis device. The choice whether to add an MM is often rather free, in that the governing intransitive verb can remain without the VN as MM or be supplemented by the MM. The MM thus provides an additional element of meaning. When it is not syntactically obligatory, the MM can be viewed as a stylistic-artistic element. It should be noted that the MM examples in the CA were highly colloquial, and not influenced by (M)LA, since the lexemes were not MLA words and their pronunciation did not reflect MLA conventions. A relatively large number of examples of this type occur in Sabuni (1980) (Aleppine Arabic), but also elsewhere. This function of the VN in CA seems to be mainly a stylistic feature and deserves a separate examination (cf. Talmon 1996, and references there; Palva 1992).

4. *Discussion and Conclusions*

Following a preliminary examination of VNs in the dictionary, the present paper applies a different approach by studying the occurrence of VNs in various texts. Though not comprehensive, this effort has revealed important characteristics of VNs in Arabic, as well as differences in their use between LA and CA. The following points (based on both this paper and on Rosenhouse, 2002) suggest the following features of VNs:

1. The analysis of dictionary lists revealed differences between LA and CA on the morphological, semantic, syntactico-semantic and phonological levels (cf. Appendix A, and Rosenhouse, 2002). The texts analyzed here revealed differences between LA and CA in the frequency and distribution of VNs, such that in CLA and MLA they are more frequent than in CA.
2. The two Iraqi writers' texts exhibit a low percentage of VNs (less than 2% of the total number of words in the texts), compared to about 5% VNs in the total number of words in the Egyptian story and in *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, the Classical text. The Iraqi writers' modern texts together have 74 verbal nouns, of which 29 (or 39%) are non-Measure I verbal nouns. The total number of verbal nouns in all three modern writers' works is 195 verbs, of which 72 or 36.9% are from non-Measure I forms. Compared to them, *Kalīla wa-Dimna* includes 187 VNs of which 43 (23%) are non-Measure I verbal nouns. This is a considerably smaller number and rate of VNs of non-Measure I verb forms.
3. In the CA sample, the numbers are smaller still (less than 1% of total number of words are VNs in all the studied texts; only three texts—Palestinian, Jordanian and Baghdadi Judeo-Arabic—reveal examples with VN of non-Measure I verb forms). Based on the texts studies here and the references consulted, inter-dialect differences of VNs use are relatively minor, compared to the difference between LA and CA.
4. We have not found here purely syntactic differences between LA and CA concerning VNs. This suggests that the syntactic functions of VNs are similar or the same in LA and CA, although LA/CA distribution and frequency may differ.
5. It appears that the existence or generation of a VN depends on semantic criteria (of the inflected verb) or on morphological criteria

(the Measure of the inflected verb). Thus, not every verb has automatically a VN in CA, which contributes to the general differences between CA and MLA. In LA there are less restrictions on the generation of VNs.

6. Distribution rules in both LA and CA are dependent mainly on the semantic category of each individual verb (root). The semantic categories we found (Rosenhouse, 2002) relate to those active in Arabic in general and are known to have affected also other areas of the language.[5]
7. Phonetic differences have been found, as expected, among the CA texts, which reflect different dialects. LA and CA phonetics also differs, so that VNs differences between LA and CA were expected and found. These differences contribute to the general distinction between LA and CA texts.
8. The pronunciation of the VNs suggests lexical interaction between LA and CA VNs: Often (in forms that can be phonetically modified), when the VN is pronounced in the same manner in both LA and CA, it is an 'authentic' LA form borrowed into CA; if the pronunciation of the VN in CA differs from that of its LA equivalent, however, it is usually an 'originally' CA form.[6]

It would be interesting to continue and study the issues raised here many of which have still remained open. To refine this description more LA texts and text types could be studied, as well as other CA dialects, e.g., Western (North African) Arabic, and periphery dialects such as the Nilo-Saharan area and Arabian Bedouin dialects. The use of VNs in CA as an artistic device in the *maf'ūl muṭlaq* pattern is also worthy of future research.

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[5] These semantic categories include transitivity/intransitivity, causativity, passivity, reciprocation, 'verbs of the heart,' verbs of motion, etc. These categories are often expressed in morphological measures, but not only in them.

[6] This point is related to the use of MLA in speech, which has been studied as part of the modern 'middle language' features (e.g., Blanc 1960; Meiseles 1980), but is beyond the scope of this paper.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A.: *VN semantic features* (*based on Rosenhouse*, 2002)

1. Ambiguity of the verbal noun (common to LA, CA and other languages)
   xuṭba/xuṭbe 'the act of engagement to be married; the engagement ceremony, etc.'
   xalq 'creation; creatures'.
2. Active-passive ambiguity (common to LA and CA)
   taʾlīf, muʾallaf 'composing, writing a literary work' and 'a composed work'.
3. Verbal nouns of Active/Passive/Reflexive Measures
   V. *tafattuḥ* 'opening, e.g. a blossom' (VNs of Measure V—rather restricted in CA).
   VI. *tamāluk* '(self) control' (VNs of Measure VI—rather restricted in CA).
   VII. *infitāḥ* 'opening, e.g. a door by itself' (VNs of Measure VII—limited in CA).
   VIII. *iftitāḥ* 'opening, e.g. inauguration' (VNs of Measure VIII—limited in CA).
4. *Mafʿūl muṭlaq*
   LA: *nāma nawman ʿamīqan* 'he slept a deep sleep' (cf. Appendix B).
5. Difficulties in deverbal or denominal verbal nouns (involving procedures)
   'Flexurization': LA: *ǧaʿlu(hu) marinan/?tamrīn/?tamarrun/?talyīn*—how in CA?
   LA: *iḥmirār* 'becoming red, blushing'—how in CA?
   LA: *taʾaqlum/ʾaqlama* 'climatization'—how in CA?
   (In CA, assumedly, the same forms are used, borrowed form LA)
6. Suppletion due to discrepancy between Measures and verbal nouns
   LA: *ʾaxraǧ* 'take out; produce'—the verb form is not used in CA (in CA: *ṭallaʿ* is used), except in borrowing from MLA. But in CA VN: *taṭlīʿ* 'taking out' is not used, and LA *ʾixrāǧ* is used instead.
7. Suppletion due to non-existence of VN
   ṣār 'to become' (LA *ṣayrūra, ṣayarān*)—no VN in CA (instead, e.g. *ʾinno yṣīr*—that he/it may 'become').
   Inflected verb in Measure III: *bāraka* (LA)/*bārak* (CA). VN: LA *baraka*/CA *barake* 'blessing' (Measure I). (LA: **birāk*/?*mubāraka*, Measure III)

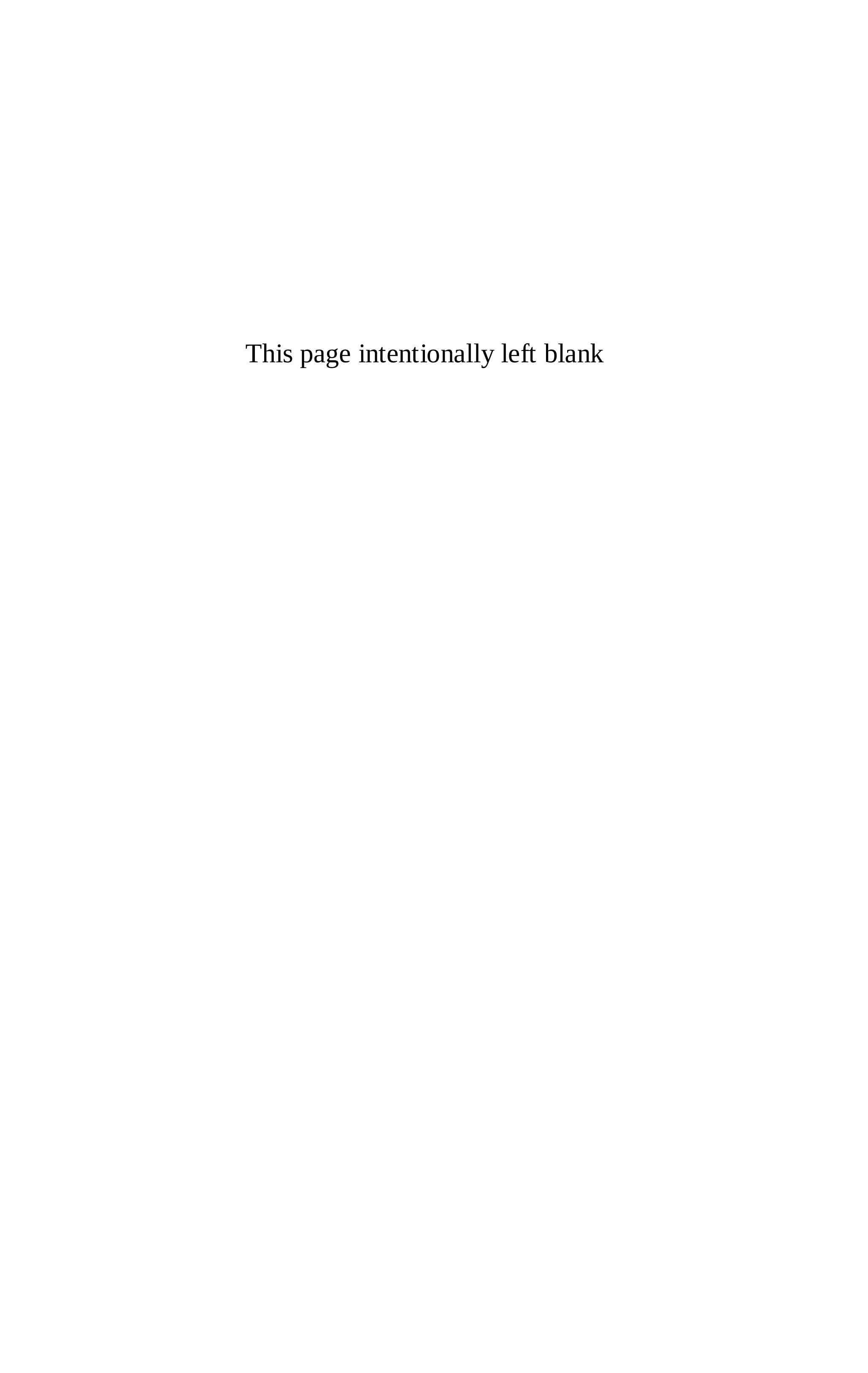
8. Causativity (suppletion?)
   LA: *ʾalbas*/CA: *labbas* 'dress someone up' VN in LA: *ʾilbās* but CA: ?*talbīs*.
9. Reciprocity
   In CA reciprocity is expressed by the correlative particle: *šāfu baʿḍhom baʿḍ* 'they saw one another', *ḍarabu baʿḍ* 'they hit each other'. In LA Measure VI is usually used: *tarāʾaw* 'they saw one another'; *taḍārabu* 'they hit each other'. Measure VI VNs are used in LA, e.g. **taḍārub*, and are sometime used in CA, but rather rarely.
10. CA Preference for inflected verb forms
    CA prefers inflected verb forms to VNs or other nominal forms. Nominal forms relatively abound in LA (compared to CA), especially in modern texts, which are influenced by Western language habits, such as English and French journalese (cf. Rosenhouse 1990). This has been noted above in the context of the use of inflected verbs instead of VNs especially with intransitive and denominal (or de-adjectival) verbs.
11. Pronunciation of verbal nouns (morphophonology)
    Vowels in VNs are deleted in CA according to local CA rules; in LA these vowels are retained, e.g. CA: *bšāra* LA: *bišāra* 'delivering good news', CA: *mwāfaqa* LA: *muwāfaqa* 'agreement'; CA: *ḥsāb* LA: *ḥisāb* 'calculation' cf: CA, LA: *muḏāhara* 'picketing', CA, LA: *firāq* 'parting with' CA, LA: *taʿallum* 'learning'.
12. Avoidance of verbal nouns due to phonetic considerations
    Consonant clusters involving homorganic adjacent consonants often lead to avoidance of VNs (and some other word structures with the same feature). Cf.: CA: *daššar* 'leave, neglect'—VN would be CA *tadšīr*; but actually it does not occur; though cf. LA: *tadšīn* 'inauguration', which is possible. Another example: *daǧǧāl* 'cheater' is frequent in CA, but not ?*daǧl*/*tadǧīl* 'cheating'.

Appendix B: *Occurrence of* maṣdar *forms in the* Qurʾān *as* mafʿūl muṭlaq *(based on examples in Talmon 1996)*

Total: 64 tokens, 52 different verbs. Only 3 do not take the stem of their corresponding verbs; 61—do take them. Verbal nouns in Measure I, 26—Measure II, 3—Measure IV, 1—Measure X. Measures above III–4 forms = 6.25% of the 64 tokens.

Following Arab grammarians, Goldenberg, Wright and others, Talmon distinguishes:

Inner Object; *maf'ūl muṭlaq mubham* (= *li-t-ta'kīd*); *maf'ūl muṭlaq li-bayān an-naw'; nā'ib maf'ūl muṭlaq*. In Table 1 we summarize forms of *maf'ūl muṭlaq mubham* based on Talmon's (1996) data.


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THE ARABIC DIALECT OF WOMEN IN MEKNÈS (MOROCCO): GENDER LINKED SOUND CHANGES?

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1. *Introduction*

In the archives of the well-known Berberologist Arsène Roux (1893–1971) in Aix-en-Provence I retrieved an extensive documentation on the Arabic dialect of Meknès.[1] Mr. Roux, an expert in Middle Atlas Berber (*Tamaziγt*), Tashelhit Berber (*Tašlḥiyt*) and the Arabic dialects of Morocco, lived in Meknès from 1919 until 1927. He acquired an intimate knowledge of the dialect of this town. Among the Meknès Arabic documents I found his thesis titled *Le parler arabe des musulmanes de Meknès* (dated 1925), with which Roux had obtained a *Diplôme supérieur de langue et littérature arabe*.

In this unpublished thesis he analysed the Meknès dialect with particular emphasis on the speech of women. The work has 310 pages and is divided into three sections: the first section contains texts in Meknès Arabic and their translations (pp. 1–133); the second section deals with *Phonétique* (phonetics and phonology, pp. 134–193); the third section deals with *Morphologie* (verb, noun, article, demonstratives, pronouns, pronominal affixation to verb and nouns, pp. 194–309). For the modern reader, Roux's thesis is somewhat outdated, but nevertheless a thorough phonological and morphological study of a dialect that—as far as I know—never received any scholarly attention.

The first section of Roux's thesis, twenty-eight texts and translations, is by far the most interesting for Arabic dialectologists. Here the reader is immediately confronted with phonetic and morphological characteristics of the Meknès Arabic of women. Roux has written these texts carefully, in his own handwriting, in an excellent 'narrow' phonetic transcription. The main goal of this article is to

[1] Cardboard boxes 6 until 11, see the forthcoming catalogue of the *Fonds Roux* by Stroomer & Peyron (2003).

present some of these texts in order to illustrate three regular sound changes. When one compares the speech of women in Meknès (SWM) to a hypothetical Common Moroccan Arabic (CMA), the following changes can be observed:

	CMA		SWM (in Roux's documents)	
1	*š*	>>	*s* or *s* with subscript comma	
	ma ta išuf ši	>>	*ma ta isuf si*	'he does not see'
	mša	>>	*msa*	'he went'
	laḥšiša	>>	*laḥsisa*	'hashish-paste'
	baš	>>	*bas*	'in order to'
2	*j*[2]	>>	*z* or *z* with subscript comma	
	jât	>>	*zât*	'she came'
	jenniyya	>>	*zenniyya*	'jinnee-woman'
	jibha	>>	*zibha*	'bring her'
	ujh	>>	*uzh*	'face'
3	*r*	>>	*γ* or *r* with subscript comma	
	ṛṛuḥâniyya	>>	*eγγuḥâniyya*	'jinnee-woman'
	larḍ	>>	*lâγḍ*	'earth, ground'
	laḥrir	>>	*laḥγiγ*	'silk'

These sound changes may be found combined in one word:

1+3:				
	šrili	>>	*sγili*	'buy for me'
2+3:				
	xerjet	>>	*xeγzet*	'she went out'
	srija	>>	*sγiza*	'saddle'
	ṭenjṛa	>>	*ṭenzγa*	'kettle'

In his thesis Roux gives some phonetic details. As for *s* from *š* and *z* from *j* he says:

> Le *s* provenant du *š* se distingue dans une audition attentive du *s* ordinaire; il semble un tantinet plus mouillé que ce dernier; mais j'avoue que cette différence m'apparaissait surtout dans les mots de racine connue: au contraire, il m'a été impossible, dans les mots encore inconnus de moi, de distinguer si j'avais à faire à un *s* ou à un *š*. La même remarque vaut pour *j* et *z*.[3]

In his article of 1952 Roux puts it slightly different, suggesting an audible difference:

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[2] In the transcription used by Roux, this *j* appears as *ž* (both are I.P.A. [ʒ]).
[3] Roux (1925:146).

> Le parler arabe des Musulmanes de Meknès se distingue de celui des hommes surtout par certains caractères phonétiques: 1) une sorte de zézaiement donne aux chuintantes *š* et *j* un son intermédiaire entre la chuintante et la sifflante correspondante.[4]

As for the *γ* from *r* Roux makes a similar remark in his thesis:

> Dans certains familles de Meknès, le *r* est prononcé à peu près comme un *γ*, sans que cependant les deux sons se confondent pour le sujet parlant. Pour moi la distinction a été difficile à faire dans un débit rapide et pour des termes inconnus.[5]

In the text section of his thesis Roux transcribed the *s* and *z* derived from *š* and *j* simply as *s* and *z*; in his article of 1952, in which he published eight lines of text from his Meknès Arabic material, he used *s* and *z* with subscript comma to indicate an *s* and *z* from *š* and *j* respectively. He usually wrote the *γ* derived from *r* as *γ*.

In both his thesis and in his article Roux says that the sound changes 1 and 2 are the most conspicuous features in the Meknès speech of women:

> *s* correspond à *š* du language masculin; c'est là avec le passage de *j* à *z* le caractère le plus saillant du parler des femmes.[6]

These sound changes remain within the realm of phonetics and do not seem to cause any shifts in the phonemic system. It can be inferred from the texts that these sound changes are regular.

As phonetic phenomena these changes are known in other Arabic dialects as well. Already Marcel Cohen observed *zézaiement* in the speech of Jews in Algiers.[7] The uvular pronunciations of *r* is well attested in Morocco.[8] However what makes the case of Meknès Arabic of women so interesting is the fact that their regular sound changes are linked to gender rather than a religious group or a region. Regular sound change, explicitly linked to gender, has, as far as I know, no parallels in Arabic dialects.

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[4] Roux (1952:377).

[5] Roux (1925:164).

[6] Roux (1925:145) and Roux (1952:377) (cited above).

[7] Cohen (1912:24–25). See also Ph. Marçais (1977:10): "des sifflantes et chuintantes *s*, *ṣ*, *z* et *š*, *j*: elles se confondent souvent dans les parlers juifs du Maghreb en un son intermédiaire entre *s* et *š* pour la sourde, *z* et *j* pour la sonore".

[8] Ph. Marçais (1977:10) calls it "une 'maladie articulatoire' du *r* qui semble typiquement citadine". Moroccans refer to the uvular *r* as the *r fasi* 'the *r* from Fès', there is a similar uvular *r* for instance in Tetouan.

15

1 1 V Ḥᵘ râfa

Uáh̬d-ᵘṭmra kánṭ gâlsa yor ṭa-ṭákᵘl u-
tesrᵒb zand ṛázelha. Ḗgéttzu-lha lăḥuáiz
bâṣ eâṭ men ḍar-hum u gásdaṭ lâbsa ṭrîf
5 u ḥâtta ṭrîf, men dâz ṭa-igûl: "ia lâṭef!"
Ḥlâṣ mṛa ḥánza, ma-sándha la dras lḥ̬dma
u la úzeh lᵘssázṣa. Ẓiua sîr ẓa ḥál u-azi-ẓa-
ḥál, u kúll ḥal ṭa-imsí fc-hâlu.
Zâha ḥᵘbaṛ-ᵘmmᵘha mâṭeṭ. Bellaṭ-aslêha
10 zarṭha men-ᵘssṭâḥ, mel-lhálqa; ẓiua sâlṭ-aslêha
ḥáṭṭa sâru bḥêr: "uâs-ḥᵘbázk? lábas aslêk!
ᵘllâh-chennîna! Gálṭ-lha: "ᵘNubi a ḥiṭẓi
lla ma-nṭi ṭasṭêni tsămirĕk, u dfînĕk, u qófṭănek
u-ḥáikᵘk, u-sebníẓṭek, u-mdómmᵘṭek, u-
15 riḥíẓṭek!" Gálṭ-lha: "as-sándek?"
Gálṭ-lha: "máṭeṭ ᵘmmᵘi, yâdi nemsí nsázzi fîha"
Boll-názel-zarṭha-sliha u gal-lha: "uâs-fîk
ẓa-lálla-nṭi ma ṭemsí; hóssek-ᵘnṭi brâsᵘk
ᵘlli isázzi fîk"
20 "ᵘlli ma-ṭekdem ḥdîmṭha
qfez-ᵘddrâz ksíuṭha"
(Humma)

2. *Texts*[9]

2.1 *A Story*[10]

A woman who lived with her husband devoted herself to nothing but eating and drinking. Her clothes were already torn to shreds when she arrived [as a bride] from their house [i.e. from her parents' house] and she continued wearing rags over rags. Whoever saw her said: "Oh, my God!" In short, a sloppy woman, who did not have a hand [lit.: upper arm] for working nor a face for begging. Time came and time went.[11]

Then the news of the death of her mother came to her. The lady next door looked down on her from the first floor in the patio. She greeted her: "Is everything all right? How are you? Nothing wrong with you? May God give you peace!" The woman said to her: "By the Prophet, dear sister, could you please give me your undershirt, your robe, your caftan, your shawl, your headscarf, your belt and your shoes?" The woman next door said to her: "What is wrong with you?" [The sloppy woman] said to her: "My mother died, I must go and pay a visit of condolence!"

The husband of the lady next door looked down from the first floor on her as well and he said to her: "Why do you go there, my lady. One should pay a visit of condolence to you yourself":

> One who does not carry out a small task
> A cage for chickens should be her clothes!

[9] I thank the director of the IREMAM in Aix-en-Provence, M.E. Kienle for his permission to publish these texts and Madame Claude Brenier-Estrine, keeper of the *Fonds Roux*, for her warm interest in my research and her kind cooperation during my stays in the Roux archives.

[10] Roux (1925:15, text nr. 5).

[11] The phrase in Moroccan Arabic: *iwa sir ya ḥal* etc. is a formulaic phrase in stories, indicating the steady flow of time.

43

1 XXI – Ḥkâia –

Kân úld-ṣṣúlṭan ṳâḥdaḥ ṳáḥd eyyuḥâniia,
mén muṳâlil lâyḍ. Qâmu-ḥbâbu zṳuzuh.
Hṳṳa zṳuzuh, u hṳṳa ma-ṭa-isûf-si f-ẽlmya
5 ma-ṭá-iduí-si mʒáha. Zâṭ-lṳṳla u heyzeṭ
zâṭ-ṭṭânia u heyzeṭ, u-zâṭ-ṭṭâlṭa u héyzeṭ.
. Mnûn ḥṳâṭaṭ ḅẽttlaṭa
qalu-ḥbâbu: « ma-ḥább-si ḥadúk, áyau
ssyẽya! » Yṳuḥḥa u hẽia lâbsa mén-ddhẹb
10 ḥṭṭa sfáyṭ u ...yiy ḥṭṭa qṣáyṭ, u hṳṳa
ma-ṭá-iduí-si mʒáha. Bqâṭ meskina ṣâbya
ṣâbya, ḥṭṭa zâbṭ mḥẽida syêṳya, u hẽia
gâlsa f-lbiṭ mʒáh, hẽia f-ziha u hâṳa f-ziha
ma ṭá-iduí si mʒáha, u hẽia ṭa tlʒab b-lmḥẽida.
15 Ẽiua ḅdâṭ-ta-ṭʒáiiọk: « a Sîdi, qímni sálík!
a Sîdi báʒʒd-ménni! a Sîdi fâyq-ni sãlík! »
U-hẽia-ṭa-tlʒáb mʒá yás-ha; u-hṳṳa ṭa-isûf
fiha u-ṭa-ṭʒázbu dik-llʒiḥa diâlha, u ma
ʒándọ qâday bâs iduí mʒáha, zrínniia málkah.
20 U mnûn ṭqâdẹ-lmya mellʒẽbaṭ diâlha ṳ
ṭásia, ṭa ṭíyqûd fḥâlha. Bḥâl-liûm, bḥâl
yédda, U-hẽia ka-tlʒab b-lmḥẽida, u-ḥbâb
ṭa itsónnṭọ m-núy ddéffa, ṭa iqûlo yâh ṭạ-
iduí mʒâha, ṭa ibyé-ha. »
25 Hṳâṭaṭ-ha qâlu: « Yẹy-ṭa-ṭekdeb! »

2.2 *A Tale*[12]

There once was a son of a sultan who had married a jinnee-woman, one of the owners [masters, lords?] of the earth. His parents [not knowing about this] made him marry [a normal woman]. They married him, but he did not look at his wife at all, nor did he say anything to her. The first woman came and went, the second woman came and went, the third woman came and went. These three were sisters. The parents said to one another: "He does not love them, let us give him the youngest girl!" They brought her [to him]; she wore [so much] gold that she looked yellow and [so much] silk that she looked short. But he, he did not say anything to her. The poor girl remained patient for a long time. Finally, she took a small pillow. She was sitting in a room, she on one side and he, the son of the sultan, on the other side, not saying a word to her. Then she played with the pillow.

She then began to speak loudly, saying: "O mister, let me go away,[13] leave me in peace! O Sir, go away from me! O Sir, remove me from you!" And she [said this] while she was playing all by herself. He looked at her and was amused by this playing of hers. Yet he did not have the power to speak to her: the jinnee-woman possessed him. When the woman stopped her play, as she was tired, she went off to sleep. The next day she played with the pillow as she had done before [lit.: today]. The parents listened [to them] behind the door and said [to one another]: "He speaks to her, he loves her!"

But her sisters said: "She is only pretending [lit.: lying]!"

[12] Roux (1925:43, text nr. 21).
[13] Iraqi-Sinaceur (1993: VI, 1634): *qēlni ʿlēk* or *qēnni ʿlēk* 'Laisse-moi tranquille!'.

44

1 Ṣêfṭọ-lha lẓaqd-d-ezzáhey u qâlụ-lha ila
kúnṭi ẓẓîza isyé-lêk hâda!" "Ṭiṭa bkâṭ
bkâṭ ḥátta! U bqâṭ gâlsa myûbsa, u qâlt
uâs náẓmel ḥátta-nqôl lo ḥíllos-li hada
5 u-hôụa ma ṭa-iduị si msâụa!" Ṭiṭa séktaṭ
dik-llila, ma ṭa-dduị-si, ma-ṭa-tlẓáb-si.
Qâl-lha: "ma-lmelḥa-u ssėy
má-idḥăk kif dâyi ulẓáda?"
Qâlt-lu: "ḥuâṭaṭi ḥassâda
10 ila byêṭini syi-ki hâda!"
u hêịa uuyyaṭ-lu lẓaqd.
Qâl-lha: "iṣbâḥ lḥbey ṭâḥṭ lussâda."
U láyedda mmûn fâqeṭ, sábṭ mụât dinay
dịal dâk ezzohey ẓánd ŷâṣha. Ṣeftât-lhûm
15 lflûs laḥbâbha; u ḥuâṭaṭa ka-iaḥmâqo sâla.
dik lgélsa lli gâlsa ẓánd uld-ssólṭan.
Hakk"ak u hûma ṣêfṭọ-lha, qâlụ-lha:"
ila kûnṭi ẓẓîza ẓánd ŷâẓlek iáẓmel-lek
unzâha." Ṭiṭa ẓâụa za-llil, ṭyúbsaṭ.
20 u-škṭaṭ; dik-lmheida ma-yfdeṭ-ha si, ma
duâṭ-si msâha. Ŝâf-ha hôụa myûbsa
u sâkṭa, qâl-lha:"
ka-lêlmélḥa u-ssêyy ma-idḥák kif
dâyi u lẓâda!"
25 Qâlt-lu: "Huâṭaṭi ḥassâda

They sent her a necklace of pearls and said to her: "If you are [really] the beloved [of your husband], he will buy this for you!" Well, she cried and cried. She sat down, gloomy, and asked herself: "What can I do and [how] can I tell him: 'Buy [lit.: pay] this for me!' when he does not even speak one word to me!" That night she remained silent, she did not say anything, she did not play. He said to her: "What [is wrong with] my dear beauty[14] that you don't laugh as usual?" She said to him: "My sisters are jealous! If you love me, buy this for me!" and she showed him the necklace. He said to her: "The answer [lit.: news] will be under your pillow tomorrow." Next morning she woke up and found a hundred dinars [the price] of this necklace, near to her head. She sent the money to her parents. But her sisters became [even more] jealous of her, as she was staying with the son of the sultan.

In the same way they sent her [a message] saying: "If you are really the beloved of your husband, he will organise a pleasure trip for you." Well, again the night came, she got gloomy and silent again and she did not take up the pillow [to play with it]; she did not say a word to him. He saw her sitting there, gloomy and silent and said to her: "What [is wrong with] my dear beauty that you don't laugh as usual?" She said to him: "My sisters are jealous!

[14] For the expression *ma lmelḥa u sséγ (= sserr)* see Iraqui-Sinaceur 1993: VII, 1852).

45

1 ila ka-ṭḥɣêni ɛmmêl li nɛâha!»
Qâl-lha: « ɣédda-ḥṭâli!»
Ɛâɣĕdda msá fɛánd ĕɣɣuḥâniẓa u qâl-lha: «
hā kif, hā kif.» Qâlt-lu: « ɛîb-ha!»
5 Ɛaɣedda ɛîẓṇaṭ u-késsṭaṭ u lébsaṭ mel-lahuâẓ
ḥátta qṣâɣṭ, u lébsṭ mĕn-ḍḍheb hátta ṣfâɣṭ
ɛáu lasbîd u ɛâbu béɣla b-sɣiɛa. Qâl-lha: «
ɛiṇa nôḍi héẓẓi!» Ḥéɣɛaṭ, yéḳkbu-ha
lâsbîd ɛâla bɣâlṭ-ha; uâhd mn-ḥana,
10 uâhd mn-hena qâbṭin-ha, u hûma ṭémmu
ɣâdiẓin bîha hátta úṣlu léẓẓenạn. Déḥlaṭ
l-éẓẓ-nan, ṣábṭ. ɛûẓ ulcdaṭ sɣéuɣeṇ tléqqau
-lha; ɛyfdaṭ uâhd mn-hana, uâhd mn-hana
u-ṭémmed-dâḥla bîhum féḥḥâna. Ɛa-ṭélqa
15 -mmhúm, qóbṭaṭ-ha u ɛáṇṇqaṭ-ha u bâsṭha
u qalt-lha: « fɣeḥṭi-li bulạdi, u dâba
astêṭek ɛah-d-llâh sómmṭi la hăsseɣṭ-aslik
ɣâzlĕk!» Ɛiṇa ṭĕmma bda ɣɣâzĕl ɛaụi
msâha.
20 Msa-ḍdâɣo. Qâmo-iɛámlo ɛóɣs aɛɛîb bîha.
Ḥéɣhaṭ-ennạs, u néṣṭaṭ-oddâɣ u ma fîha
U ma bqáu-lu ɣéiẓâṭa u-ṭóbbâla, u la bqá
ɛálu-uẓh ĕmmûniẓa si-ḥâɛa olli ma-kạn-si
f-dāk-lsóɣs.
25 Ɛâṭ-ha ɣɣuḥâniẓa u qâlt-lha: « mmûṇ

If you love me, organise a pleasure trip for me!" He said to her: "Prepare yourself tomorrow!" The next day he went to the jinnee-woman and said to her: "Such-and-such is what has happened . . .!" She said to him: "Bring her [to me]!" The next morning [the woman] put on make-up, changed clothes; she put on [so many precious] clothes that she looked short and [so much] gold that she looked yellow. Slaves brought her a saddled mule. He said to her: "Well, stand up and go out!" She went out, the slaves helped her to mount her mule [and accompanied her], one on this side and one on the other side, holding her firmly. They then took her to the garden. She entered the garden and found two little boys coming towards her. She took one on this side and one on that side and then joyfully entered together with them. She met their mother who took her hand, embraced her, kissed her and said to her: "You have brought joy to my children. Now I promise you solemnly that I will no longer keep your husband away from you!" [From then onwards] her husband started to talk to her.

He went to his palace. They organised a marvellous wedding for her. The people were full of joy and the palace had a festive appearance. No one of the shawm-players and the tambourine-players was missing! Everybody was present at that wedding [lit.: No one on earth was absent at that wedding].

The jinnee-woman went to her and said: "When

46

1 ṭḥábbini ˌzáiẓeẓe-ḷi f°ṭṭáyma."

Mnûn ka-ṭḥăbbha-lĕmya, ṭḅyi-si-hâza,

ṭa-ṭzáiẓoṭ-lha f°ṭṭáyma, u hệia f-°ssâsa ṭá-

dzi u-ṭá-dzíḅ lha lḥáza-lli lâqṭ-ḅiha.

5 Uáḥ°d-°nnhây záiẓoṭaṭ-lha, qâlu-lha

mâṭẹṭ". Qâlṭ-lhum: "azṭẹ́u-na ulâḍ-ha!"

Hakkʷák u lúlaḍ ḥáyzin men°ṭṭáyma. U

hệia ullaṭ nnnhúm u ḅqáu °nnâs yey ṭa-

ichzoyo-f dûk lúlaḍ [illegible] °lyézlan, ṭa-

10 itsázzbọ fihum. Ẓiụa hâdik yźzaṭ muî-

-mṭhum u fáyhana bihum, ẓíụa-âhna hakkʷa

u-nnhây ṭḷaz.

(Mʷhâni-°l. Mosṭaṣẹia)

you need me, call me in the scullery!" When the woman needed her, she would call her in the scullery and the jinnee-woman would come immediately and bring her whatever she asked.

One day she called her and they [the jinn] said that [she] [the jinnee-woman] had died. The woman said to [the jinn]: "Give her children to us!" Then the children came out of the scullery. She became their mother. When people saw these children [beautiful] as gazelles, they liked them very much. Well, she became their mother and was very happy with them. We were still in this mood, when the day arrived.[15]

[15] A formulaic final phrase in stories.

41

XX. Es-syab.

1 Kân yâzli ṭa-isámlu. Ṭa-isyi lsineḅ mēn-ssuq
u nzássyuh ; ṭa nzáff suh u nzássyuh
f-elqúffa d-elḥálfa, al-ṭa-nóffcuh mellásdam
u-ºzzlûd. u ṭa-nṭéiç buh f ṭónzya; u ṭa nzîdu-
5 lu si zbîb. U mnîn ṭa-iyli ṭa-iʿz mel el késkusa,
ṭa nzíu luáhd lzzda nsámlu fîha-lmyêyfa
d. eddâm bâs ṭa nzú u lu. lkeskûsa. Mnîn
ṭa iṭqâḍa mel lkeskûsa u ibqa ṣafi ṭa n'nézzluh
u-nkébbuh f-elḥâbṭa, u-ṭa iṭyétta b-elyṭa d-
10 elḥâbṭa u-iṭqifel f-dádóqqa dṭâl. nnuṣâfeḥ.
Mnîn izi-lbórd haḳk a ṭbda ṭsáṛiḥ u ṭérfed
ménnu u ṭk bb f-elmṭâṛb u-lkîsan; dâḅa
ṭ'ménait yey kâs ménnu, kun-kân kâs ménnu
kûn âna ṭa-nduí fḥâl múqnin. Dāk-essyab
15 yzâl, mzéhhed, usi-ṭeduṭk zásma bézzâf ma-kâin-
si, yey suîça, nâsât fîh, lli ṭa isyéḅ ménnu
ṭá-ikun úzhu yey lsáṭkay, lhdad ṭa iduíu
kánṭ-zándi dây gédd el-Qâhya, fîha-zbsa-d-elbîaṭ
ṭa nzámlu zûz ullá tlâṭa d-elhuabi, lli idu u z,
20 elbord. Iyyzâl ma ṭa-iséyḅu hâtta llîl, mnîn
izîu iṛgîdu, iglés eyyâzel hûua u myáṭu
u-lqéyza d-essyâb geddâmhum u-lkâs.
U dhâik hâdi, u ṭsâik hâdi!
Illi-ṭa-ikun mdóḥhem u bîbas aslih, b-dṭâlu.

2.3 *Boiled wine*[16]

My husband makes it. He buys grapes from the market and crushes them. We stamp on them and crush them in a basket made of palm leaves. We remove the grape stones and the skins. Then we boil [the juice] in a big kettle and add some dried raisins. When this boils, it produces foam. We then take a stick on to which we have tied a spoon of palm leaves, with which we remove the foam. When it no longer produces any foam and remains clear, we take it from the fire, pour it into a jar and close it with a jar lid and with fine clay that is [normally] used for making clay stoves.

When cold weather has come, like today, you remove [the lid], take out some [juice] and pour it into bottles and glasses. Now I would like to have only a glass of it. If I would have a glass of it, I would talk to it like a goldfinch. That drink is nice and reinforcing and does not produce too much intoxication, only a little! It is a pleasure [to drink it]. The one who drinks it gets a red face and his cheeks get a red glow.

I have a house as big as Cairo, with four rooms. We make two or three jars [of this drink], with which we pass the cold time of the year. Men only drink it at night, when they go to sleep. He then sits with his wife and a bottle of booze and a glass in front of them. He is laughing, she is laughing. Only the one who is rich and wealthy will make such a drink. As for poor people, they don't drink it.

But today, what is left of it? Nothing but rot-gut and plonk. Nothing is left of the good things of life. [All that] has gone!

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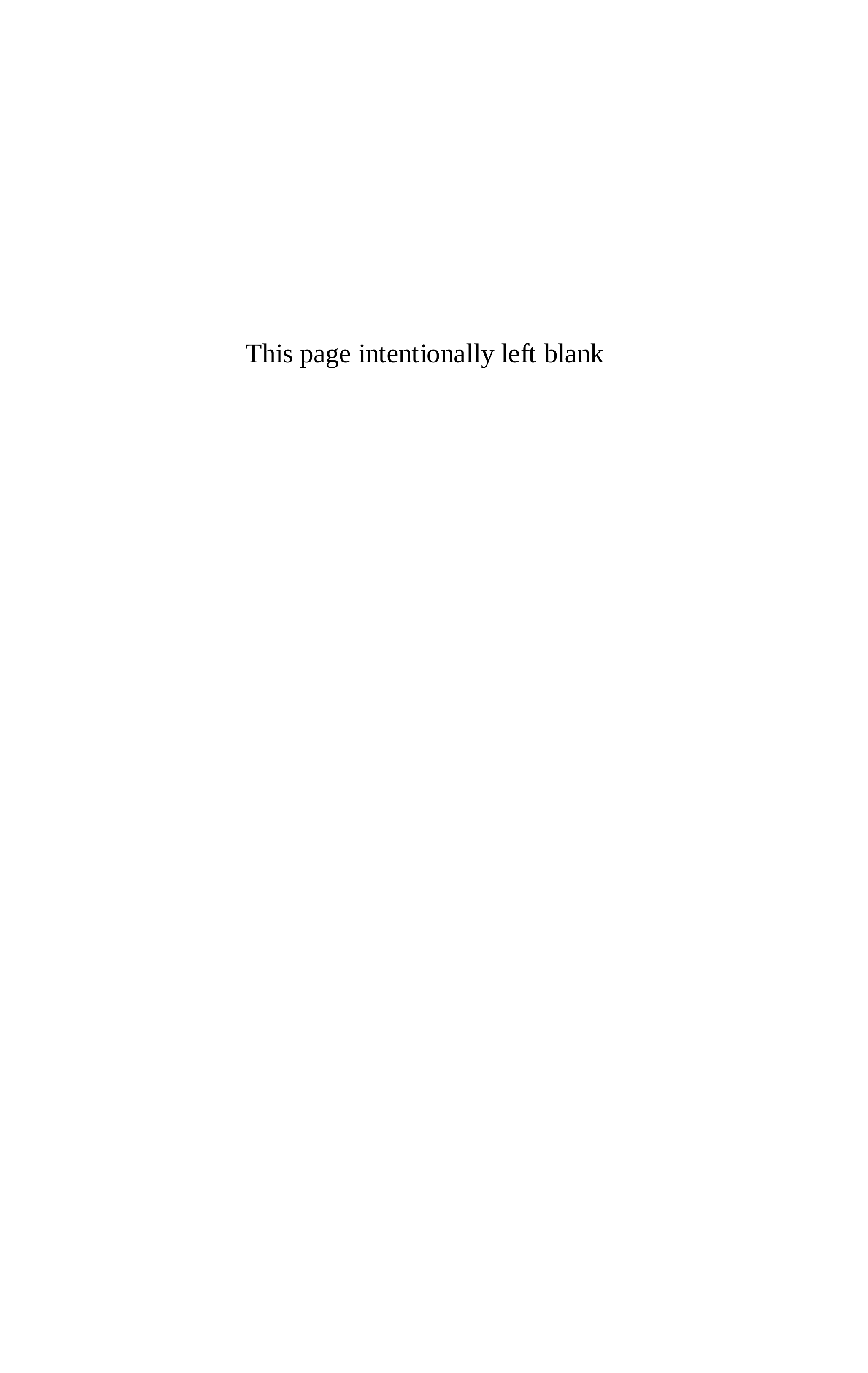
[16] Roux (1925:41, text nr. 20).

42

1 hûụ̆ lli . ẓáẓmel dāk . ĕssi ; uma . lméskiŋ si
maṭa isγéḅ .
uma dâḅa ụâṣ . ḅqa ḅqâṭ γẹγ eṭṭfil u ṭsayṭa :
rraḅqa sạị mṭâẓ . eddĕnịa , ṭqâḍã .
(Mᵘᵃ hâni . ᵒl . Méṣtaṣeḍa)

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DE LA GRAMMATICALISATION DE 'COMME' (COMPARATIF) EN ARABE*

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1. *Introduction*

Lexique et grammaire constituent les deux pôles de la langue, mais les mouvements de l'un à l'autre sont caractéristiques de la vie des langues. Dans le champ de la comparaison, la relation d'inégalité est assez fortement grammaticalisée en arabe, cependant le remplacement, dans certains dialectes, des élatifs en *ʾafʿal* par des syntagmes avec adverbe (exact équivalent du français 'plus [grand] que') est un exemple de dégrammaticalisation. Pour la relation d'égalité et le domaine plus vaste de l'identité, les évolutions sont peu spectaculaires et le fait qu'on ne trouve pas de schèmes spécialisés explique peut-être l'intérêt limité qu'on a porté à ce sujet en arabe. C'est dans le cadre d'un séminaire portant sur la grammaticalisation, organisé par D. Creissels et C. Grinevald,[1] que j'ai commencé à m'intéresser à certaines expressions à valeur aspecto-modale comportant le morphème *kīf*. Relevées dans le dialecte de Mauritanie, mais attestées également dans d'autres parlers occidentaux, sous des formes plus ou moins semblables, elles illustraient un cas particulier de grammaticalisation à partir de la préposition *kīf* marquant la ressemblance. En effet, alors que, dans les autres langues tant indo-européennes qu'africaines, la grammaticalisation de 'comme' semblait aboutir prioritairement à l'expression de la capacité physique ou morale (cf. français 'même' = 'semblable' > 'être à même de' = 'être capable de')

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[1] En 1996 et 97, dans le cadre des activités du laboratoire 'Dynamique du Langage' (CNRS—Lyon II) auquel j'étais alors rattachée. Ce travail a été présenté également devant le Groupe Linguistique d'Etudes Chamito-Sémitiques (GLECS).

et, par là, à celle du futur, l'arabe montrait qu'à partir de la même notion de ressemblance, on pouvait déboucher sur une notion temporelle assez différente, celle d'antériorité immédiate, indépendamment de toute notion de capacité ou possibilité.

Pour comprendre comment on est passé, en arabe, d'une notion (comparative) à une autre (aspecto-temporelle), je me propose de commencer par l'étude de toutes les expressions signifiant 'comme' dans les dialectes arabes. Cela nous aidera à percevoir la spécificité de *kīf* et montrera d'autres aspects de la grammaticalisation. En effet, comme Manfred Woidich (1995:259–268) l'a bien montré à propos de l'arabe égyptien, les processus relevant de la grammaticalisation sont multiformes et la dialectologie arabe offre de ce point de vue un large champ d'investigation.

2. *La relation comparative d'identité*

En arabe, certaines prépositions sont, sinon communes à l'ensemble des parlers, du moins très largement attestées. D'autres—et c'est le cas de la préposition introduisant un rapport de ressemblance—présentent une grande variété, comme le montre très bien le travail synthétique de Procházka (cf. notamment la carte 3 'wie', 1993:267–271) auquel je me référerai largement pour cette première partie. On verra que la variété des formes va partiellement de pair avec la diversité des origines.

2.1. *ka et son dérivé*

L'arabe ancien a hérité du sémitique quelques prépositions, souvent monolitères, telles que *bi* et *li*. C'est le cas aussi de *ka*, à la différence près que cette préposition a pratiquement disparu des dialectes modernes. On ne la trouve guère en dehors de l'emploi adverbial 'ainsi, comme cela', que *ka* soit suivi d'un démonstratif (*kifa(k)*, . . .) ou non (cf. Tchad *kē* ~ *ke*, Roth 1979:217).

Par contre, la forme renforcée *ka-mā*, dont le deuxième élément *mā* est plutôt caractéristique des emplois conjonctifs, semble simplement assumer les usages prépositionnels anciens de *ka* dans certains dialectes (Procházka 1993:139). Attesté en andalou mais devenu exceptionnel au Maghreb (dialecte des Marazig), l'emploi de la locution prépositive est signalé dans la Péninsule arabique (dialecte saoudien

des Ġāmid, Ḥaḍramoût, Richtāq en Oman), mais il n'est généralisé et systématique que dans les parlers de Mésopotamie du nord (Arbīl, Siirt, Daragözü, Nusaybin, Midyat et Mardin). L'affixation d'un *ma(a)* explétif semble répondre, dans ces parlers arabes comme en éthiopien, à un besoin d'alourdissement, indispensable notamment pour une combinaison avec les pronoms affixes (ce que la préposition classique *ka* ne permettait pas et que *kama(a)* semble souvent admettre, du moins s'il est fréquemment usité dans le parler, cf. exemples attestés chez les Marazig, en Anatolie et en Ḥaḍramoût, Procházka 1993:139).

2.2. *b-ḥāl et f-ḥāl*

Bien qu'également andalou et maltais (Marçais 1911:272–273) ou même tlemcénien (Marçais 1902:165), l'emploi pour 'comme' de *ḥāl* 'état, situation', précédé de *b* ou *f*, est assez typiquement marocain. Le choix de la préposition, libre à Ouargha (Lévi-Provençal 1922:42), est en partie régional: *f-ḥāl*, attesté à Tanger et à Anjra, serait caractéristique du nord (Vicente 2000:149), alors que *b-ḥāl* est répandu dans le pays.

Même lorsque le syntagme figé *b~f-ḥāl* n'est qu'une des expressions possibles du comparatif 'comme' (cas d'Anjra, de Sous, de Skūra, . . .), aucune restriction d'emploi n'est signalée, ni morphologiquement (combinaison possible avec les suffixes), ni sémantiquement. On peut toutefois supposer que l'emploi comparatif de *b~f-ḥāl* est d'abord apparu dans les contextes compatibles avec sa nature (syntagme prépositionnel) et son sémantisme (litt. 'dans l'état de') originels comme *āna fḥāləḵ* 'yo soy como tú' (Vicente 2000:149), avant d'être étendu à des contextes beaucoup plus variés qui impliquent une rupture avec l'emploi courant du syntagme, cf. *bḥāl əs-sāna lli kāyən əž-žāfāf* 'como el año de sequia' et *bḥālu bḥālna* 'él es como nosotros, su situación es igual que la nuestra' (Aguadé & Yaacoubi 1995:136).[2]

[2] La ré-introduction d'une préposition (en l'occurrence *ki*) devant *bḥāl* (signalée notamment pour Alger musulman au début du siècle, Cohen 1912:366) est aussi le signe d'une grammaticalisation très poussée de *bḥāl*.

2.3. *miṯl* et ses variantes *(miṯil, meṯᵉl, metl, . . .)*

C'est *miṯl* qui représente l'expression la plus fréquente de 'comme' dans les parlers orientaux, cf. tableaux 1 (Péninsule arabique), 2 (Iraq, Syrie, Liban, Palestine, Jordanie, Chypre) et même 3 (Soudan, Tchad) de Procházka (1993). Cet ancien substantif devenu invariable est par contre assez rare au Maghreb (cf. cependant Saïda, Marçais 1908:174). S'il s'agit d'un classicisme,[3] comme le suggère entre autres la forme cairote en *s* pour *ṯ* (Procházka 1993:230 et n. 465), on comprendra que les traces de grammaticalisation risquent d'être difficiles à trouver dans les emplois actuels. On notera cependant la proximité sémantique entre *miṯl* 'ressemblance, image de . . ., ce qui est semblable à l'autre' et la préposition 'comme', notamment dans des constructions telles que *hāḏā miṯlu-hu* 'ceci ressemble à l'autre' (cf. Kazimirski 1860:II, 1061). Si le changement de catégorie semble progressif, mais encore limité, entre *hāḏā miṯl hāḏā* 'ceci est semblable à cela' et *miṯl hāḏā* 'semblable à celui-ci, comme cela' (cf. Beaussier 1958:920, ex. de l'arabe algérien), l'emploi prépositionnel devient plus net quand les contextes se diversifient, ex. *ʿelmātu nāṣḥīn metl ʿelmātek* 'ses connaissances sont aussi fortes [litt. 'grasses'] que les tiennes', et plus encore dans les cas de corrélation, ex. *laš lah metlu metlek* 'pourquoi pas? il te vaut [= il a les mêmes droits que toi, litt. comme lui, comme toi]' (cf. Feghali 1928:150, ex. de l'arabe libanais).

2.4. *šaba(h)*

Dans le cas de *šaba(h)*, comme dans le cas précédent, la préposition signifiant 'comme' est issue d'un substantif signifiant 'ressemblance': un nominal exprimant un rapport qualitatif entre deux entités ou deux actions donne naissance à une préposition exprimant, sémantiquement, cette qualité de rapport et, syntaxiquement, la relation elle-même. La décatégorisation de *šaba(h)* a été signalée principalement en arabe nigérien, où elle concurrence l'usage de *misil* (cf. Kaye 1982:46; Owens 1993:192). Owens a même noté (chez un locuteur de l'Est) une abréviation en *ša*, assez caractéristique des phénomè-

[3] Dans la langue classique, *miṯl* est fréquemment employé pour accommoder les suffixes mais en combinaison avec la préposition *ka-* (*ka-miṯli-hi*).

nes de grammaticalisation. Cependant l'usage de *šibh* a été relevé au Moyen-Orient (cf. Bauer 1957:362).

Dans ces parlers le processus semble achevé, mais parmi les exemples donnés par Owens, le sens premier de 'ressemblance' semble parfois encore très présent, cf. *šaba bakaan inta šif-t-a da* 'like the place which you saw', *hu kabiir šaba ar-raajil ḏaaka* 'he is as big as that man' et surtout (avec une nuance d'approximation) *šaba miil xamsa naadim boṣul door-na* 'around mile five or so a person will reach our camp' (Owens 1993:192). Par ailleurs, le moyen-arabe du Machreq donne peut-être quelque idée du contexte dans lequel s'est opéré le changement de statut. En effet, à côté des exemples où *šbh* est précédé d'une préposition (*b-*, *k-* ou *ʿlā*) et ceux où la forme attestée est *šbīh* (litt. 'qui ressemble'), il en est d'autres où la comparaison est exprimée uniquement par *šbh* suivi d'un nominal, cf. *w al-dm ẖrğ mn mnẖryhā šbh al-nār* 'le sang sort de ses narines comme du feu' (Lentin 1997:354).

2.5. *šarwa*

La préposition *šarwa*, attestée seulement dans quelques dialectes orientaux de la Péninsule arabique, semble se rattacher au classique *šarwā* ('the like of anything' selon Lane, Procházka 1993:243, mais aussi 'semblable, pareil' invariable, cf. Kazimirski 1860:1224), ce qui peut laisser supposer une évolution comparable à celle décrite pour *miṯl* et *šaba(h)*. Il est intéressant par ailleurs de noter que, si *šarwa[a]* (variantes *šara[a], šaraat-*) est donné à Abu Ẓabi comme l'unique préposition du comparatif (Johnstone 1967:137), il est signalé aussi comme simple variante de *miṯl*. La restriction d'emploi aux seuls êtres animés, possible pour Qaṭar (cf. ex. *šarwa mḥammad* de Johnstone 1967:119) est une réalité pour l'arabe du Golfe en général, selon un autre auteur, qui donne par contre un exemple avec des pronoms affixes comme dans *šarwāč* 'like you [f.]' (cf. Qafisheh 1977:177).

2.6. *zayy* ~ *zēi*

La préposition *zayy* serait typique de l'Egypte et du Soudan, mais elle est attestée aussi de l'autre côté de la mer Rouge (chez les Ġāmid, à la Mecque, Ğidda et Taʿizz au Yemen), au nord-est (chez les Bani Saxar, à Gaza et el-Karak et plus largement, selon Lentin, dans

les dialectes syro-libano-palestiniens du Bilād aš-Šām ancien) et dans quelques parlers, surtout 'bédouins', du Maghreb (Tripoli, sud-tunisien et Saïda)[4] (cf. Procházka 1993:249 et carte 3). L'évolution ayant abouti à un emploi prépositionnel a là aussi comme point de départ un substantif, mais d'un sens un peu différent, plus proche de la qualité intrinsèque que du rapport qualitatif: *zayyun* 'extérieur, aspect, forme; costume'. C'est pratiquement ce sens que l'on trouve encore, littéralement, dans l'exemple classique *fī zayyi t-tuǧǧāri* 'habillé en marchand' de Kazimirski (1860:I, 1030) et dans les exemples dialectaux comme *ʾaš ʿa bālak ʾent lābes zaiy el-mlūk* 'qu'est-ce qui te manque à toi: tu es habillé comme [à la manière des] les rois?' de Feghali (1928:150) ou *lābes zeiy-elmġāṛba* 'habillé à la mode des Marocains' de Marçais (1908:170). S'il n'y a pas encore de grammaticalisation dans ces exemples, malgré les traductions données par les auteurs, on peut penser que l'emploi fréquent de *zayy* comme complément direct (+ expansion nominale) du verbe 's'habiller' a pu servir de modèle pour un usage généralisé de *zayy* sans préposition. A Saïda, l'emploi de *zayy* semble encore limité à des contextes très similaires comme *yaʿref yekteb zēi-haḏelkūfīyīn ntāʿ-ozzmān* 'il sait écrire à la façon de ces koufiotes d'autrefois' car *zayy* a gardé un sens proche de 'à la mode de' qui suppose plus un comparant générique qu'un comparant spécifique (*zayy* n'admet d'ailleurs que des noms). Mais ailleurs *zayy* accepte les pronoms affixes et des contextes variés, ex. *qalbu ʾaswed zaiy ez-zeft* 'son coeur est aussi noir que la poix [= il est hypocrite]' de Feghali (1928:150) ou *zeyy-ḏ̣ow-ən-nhāṛ* 'comme la lumière du jour' et *zeyyi zeyykum* 'moi comme vous' de Marçais (1977:222).

2.7. *šoġol* ~ *šġəl*

L'emploi prépositionnel de *šoġol* semble limité à quelques parlers algériens. Peu fréquent (et presque toujours devant des noms) à Djidjelli, *šoġol* 'à la façon de, d'après la méthode de' est très usité à Saïda où il se rencontre même parfois avec des affixes. La décatégorisation de *šoġol* substantif signifiant 'travail, occupation, besogne', en *šoğol* préposition, est tout à fait comparable à celle de *zēi*, la différence étant

[4] On peut ajouter le parler de Djidjelli: *yəbṛan f-šlāġmīh zei-bābah* 'il roule ses moustaches comme son père' (cf. Marçais 1956:524), mais *zei* introduit en général, dans ce parler, une proposition exprimant un doute.

qu'avec le second l'accent est mis sur un état ou une apparence, alors qu'avec le premier l'attention porte sur une manière d'agir, comme on peut le voir dans les exemples relevés à Saïda: *bdōu ššrāga yaḥḥarṯu šoġ-ennṣāṛa* 'les gens de l'est commencent à labourer d'après la méthode européenne', *yebnu lḫēima šoġonna* 'ils dressent leurs tentes de la même façon que nous' (Marçais 1908:175). Curieusement, à Djidjelli, le comparant est un animal dans les trois exemples donnés, signe d'un certain progrès dans l'abstraction et la décontextualisation (sujet non humain), ex. *yežri šġol-es-slūgi* 'il court comme le slougui' (Marçais 1956:524).

2.8. kīf, kī *et leurs variantes*

L'évolution suit ici une autre voie. En effet, comme le locatif *mnäyn* 'd'où? où?', *kīf* est à l'origine un adverbe interrogatif, mais l'un et l'autre sortent, dans certains dialectes, de l'énoncé interrogatif pour jouer le rôle de fonctionnel: conjonction temporelle pour *mnäyn* 'quand', préposition (ou conjonction) de la comparaison pour *kīf*. Dans le cas de *kīf*, le changement sémantique est limité (on reste dans le domaine du qualitatif) puisque, comme adverbe, il signifie 'comment? de quelle manière?'. L'emploi de *kīf* 'comment?'[5] s'est maintenu dans la plupart des dialectes arabes,[6] mais il s'est doublé d'un emploi comparatif dans beaucoup de dialectes du continent africain, de l'Egypte à la Mauritanie (Moyenne-Egypte dans table 3 + table 4, Procházka 1993:270–271). Au Maghreb, l'interrogatif prend souvent la forme *kīfāš* (ou *kīfeš*),[7] la présence de l'indéfini *-aš* (comme dans d'autres interrogatifs: *ʿlāš*?, *fāš*?, . . .) pouvant être ici le signe d'une ré-interprétation de *kīf* dans le sens de la préposition 'comme' (*kīf-āš* litt. 'comme quoi?'). Parallèlement des variations de *kīf* comparatif contribuent à différencier les signifiants de 'comme' et 'comment?': soit un renforcement en *kīfen* (cf. Stumme 1896:130), soit un

[5] Cf. arabe classique *kayfa*. Dans les dialectes il y a réduction de la diphtongue dans le mot-outil, même dans les parlers qui la conservent habituellement (cf. Feghali 1928:234 ou Cohen 1975:70).

[6] Signalons toutefois dans certains parlers moyen-orientaux, notamment de Syrie, de Jordanie et du Golfe, le remplacement de *kēf* ~ *čēf* par *šlōn* (litt. 'quelle couleur?').

[7] En Mauritanie, mais aussi au Maroc cf. Loubignac (1922:551), Aguadé & Elyaacoubi (1995:141), Vicente (2000:151); en Algérie cf. Marçais (1956: 586); en Tunisie cf. Marçais & Farès (1933: 31, *kafāš*), Cohen (1975:237), etc.

allègement en *kī* ~ *k(i)*. Avec les formes sans *-f*, on s'est demandé s'il s'agissait toujours de l'ancien adverbe de manière *kīf* ou s'il s'agissait du *ka-* comparatif attesté en arabe classique. La deuxième hypothèse ne semble pas avoir été retenue car, là où la forme *k(i)* est attestée, elle varie souvent (à Tlemcen et Djidjelli, pas à Saïda) en fonction de la structure syllabique et alterne toujours avec *kīf* (qui est même obligatoire avec les pronoms affixés). Cependant la possibilité d'une influence secondaire de l'ancien *ka-* (via l'andalou?) a été évoquée.[8]

Dans certains parlers, la comparaison implique une répétition de *kīf* devant chaque entité (surtout s'il s'agit de pronoms), ex. *kīf-l-ənsān kīf-əl-kəlb* '[il en est de] l'homme comme le chien', *kīfi kīfək* 'moi comme toi' (Marçais 1977:222).

2.9. q~g.dd : qadd, gadd, gadur *et leurs variantes*

Selon les dialectes, le verbe 'pouvoir' dérive de la racine G/QDR (cf. arabe classique *qadara* 'pouvoir, être en état, être de force à faire qqc') ou la racine G/QDD (notamment au Maroc et en Mauritanie)—nous relevons cette ressemblance de deux radicales sur trois, mais ne nous prononçons pas sur leur éventuelle connection étymologique. Très souvent, à cette même racine, appartient une forme invariable (mais à voyelle variable—ce que note ici le point), toujours en état d'annexion, qui permet l'expression de certaines comparaisons, lorsqu'elles portent sur une identité ou une similitude de taille, de mesure, de grandeur.[9] Non relevé par Procházka, ce 'comme, autant que' est signalé un peu partout, sous la forme *q.dd* (Rabat, Anjra, Liban, . . .), *g.dd* (Zaër, Skūra, hassaniyya, Ḥōrān, . . .) ou *gadur* (Soudan et Tchad). Dans certains parlers, cette préposition suit *kbīr* ou *ʿemr* (grandeur en taille ou en âge): *bigi kabīr gadur iǧil* 'il devint grand comme un veau' (Roth 1979:190), *ʾebne bel-ʿemr qadd ʾebnek* 'mon fils a le même âge que ton fils', *haṣ-ṣabe baṭnu kbīr qadd ed-dest* 'cet enfant a un ventre [= estomac] aussi grand que le chaudron

[8] Cf. Marçais (1902:164–165), Cohen (1912:366) et Marçais (1956:523). Mais David Cohen (1975:251) évoque aussi, à propos de *kī* (assez rare à Tunis juif), l'influence analogique des prépositions en *-i-*.

[9] A Rabat, un substantif est attesté dans chaque racine: *qḍaṛ* a entre autres le sens de 'quantité, capacité' comme en hispanique et *qadd* a le sens de 1) 'mesure, taille, dimension' 2) 'égalité' (cf. Brunot 1952:628–632).

[= il mange beaucoup]' (Feghali 1928:150). Ailleurs la préposition se suffit à elle-même, signifiant 'de la taille de, de l'âge de' cf. hassaniyya *äntä gədd xū-yä* 'tu es comme mon frère [= tu as l'âge/la taille de mon frère]'[10] ou seulement 'autant que, à la mesure de, de la taille de', cf. *tarf kṛafoṣ qadd əžžäytūnä* 'un bout de céleri gros comme une olive' (Cohen 1975:252). La forme redoublée est souvent une simple variante, souvent préférée avec les pronoms affixes cf. *hūwa gədd-i* = *gədd-i gədd-u* (Caubet 1993:I, 216).

Si le substantif *q~g.dd* 'taille, stature, . . .' n'est pas attesté partout (cf. cependant Boris 1958:483), l'emploi adverbial (*q~g.dd* + suff. −*āš*) au sens de 'combien?' est par contre très fréquent, soit (cf. hassaniyya, iraquien, syrien, . . .)[11] pour interroger sur une quantité non dénombrée et/ou non mesurable (alors que la question *käm(m)?* porte sur le dénombrable), soit (cf. Tunisie) comme seule façon de demander 'combien?'. Les prépositions *q~g.dd* et *kīf* présentent donc quelques points communs, notamment par le rapport qu'elles entretiennent avec les adverbes interrogatifs, mais il est difficile de préciser pour *q~g.dd* quelle a été la voie de la grammaticalisation (préposition avant adverbe?) et quel a été le point de départ (le verbe 'pouvoir'? le nom 'taille, mesure'?).

2.10. *Conclusion*

Cet inventaire n'est sans doute pas exhaustif car d'autres expressions ont été signalées pour la préposition 'comme', telles que *mpšik* < *b-šäkl* litt. 'avec le genre, la sorte de' à Chypre (selon Arlette Roth, communication personnelle), *sanaʿ* en Arabie (Sowayan 1992:275),[12] *sāʿ* à Ṣanʿāʾ (Rossi 1939:39) (cf. *wasaʿa* 'avoir la même extension que') ou *ʿale:k* (litt. 'sur toi') dans l'est de la Libye.[13] Toutes ne se laissent

[10] Dans ce dialecte, *gədd* peut signifier 'équivalent à, de la même valeur que', y compris d'un point de vue social, donc 'pair' (surtout à la 1ère personne en énoncé négatif: *māni gədd-ak* 'je ne suis pas ton égal'). Cf. aussi en tunisien du nord, où le sens de 'égal à' semble l'emporter.

[11] *šgadd tiin?* 'how many figs?' [n. 1 That is, 'what quantity of figs?'. In asking about the number of individual figs, the question would be *čam tiina?*] (Erwin 1963:353; noter qu'ici, exceptionnellement, l'indéfini est préfixé: *šgadd*). Cf. aussi *gaddēš?* 'quel prix?' et *čam?* 'combien? quel nombre?' (Cantineau 1936:111). Pour Lentin, cependant, les usages de *ʾaddēš* (pour l'heure notamment) varient d'un parler syrien à un autre.

[12] Notamment dans *yaʿni sanaʿ ẖāwih* 'It was a sort of *ẖāwih* (sorte de paiement)'.

[13] Ex. *ʿabdalla ʿale:k il-aḥṣa:n* 'A. is [strong] like a horse' avec *ʿale:k* employé

pas bien expliquer, mais on peut voir que c'est souvent sur la base, d'une part de constructions régulières de la langue (notamment un verbe avec son expansion directe comme *lābəs zayy* . . . ou un syntagme prépositionnel comme *b-ḥāl* ou *f-ḥāl*, mais en association régulière avec une détermination nominale ou pronominale) et d'autre part d'expressions abstraites dénotant la ressemblance, l'aspect extérieur, l'activité, la mesure ou la manière (ceci pour l'adverbe *kīf* 'comment?'), que les parlers se fabriquent des morphèmes spécialisés dans l'expression des relations comparatives d'identité.

La tendance à la répétition du morphème, très prononcée au Maghreb, me semble intéressante à relever, car elle contribue à l'évolution (syntaxique et sémantique) en la parachevant: le redoublement met en relief la corrélation qui est au centre de la relation comparative d'identité. Aussi, en l'absence même des deux termes de la comparaison, a-t-on souvent un adverbe dénotant l'identité ou l'égalité (*kif kif, zai-zai*, *qad-qad*, . . .).

3. *De la similitude hypothétique à la simultanéité approximative*

Les emplois adverbiaux des morphèmes du comparatif sont importants dans beaucoup de parlers, mais je vais me concentrer plutôt sur les emplois 'conjonctifs' car ce sont eux, me semble-t-il, qui permettent de comprendre les cas de grammaticalisation les plus curieux, ceux qui touchent, non plus le syntagme nominal, mais le syntagme verbal.

3.1. *'Comme, de même que', la relation d'identité entre deux événements*

La distinction de la grammaire traditionnelle entre les particules introduisant des syntagmes nominaux (les 'prépositions') et celles qui introduisent des propositions (les 'conjonctions') a été, à juste titre, souvent contestée. Cela peut sembler encore plus juste dans le cas de la com-

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uniquement dans ce type de structure, à sens métaphorique, où le complément exprime une qualité particulière, ni pronom, ni nom propre (Owens 1984:184). On peut comprendre que la préposition localisante 'sur' soit liée à la notion d'apparence (donc d'identité) mais on se serait attendu à ce qu'elle serve plutôt à l'expression du comparatif d'inégalité. Le figement apparaît surtout dans l'absence d'accord du pronom affixé à *ʿale-* (ici 2ème masc. sg. pour 3ème masc. sg.).

paraison, car l'expression de l'identité (comme celle de l'inégalité) se fait le plus souvent sans la reprise du *tertium comparationis* (qualité, état, action, . . .) par rapport auquel comparant et comparé sont évalués, d'où l'omission régulière des termes ici entre crochets: 'il est jaune comme un coing [est jaune]', 'il pleure comme un bébé [pleure]'. Aussi est-il rare de trouver des exemples comme *kaidīr kīf ndīr ana* 'il fait comme moi' (Brunot 1952:740), avec répétition du prédicat verbal, qui tendent à comparer—moins deux individus (en action) ou deux actions réalisées par un même individu (comme dans 'il rit comme il pleure' = 'il rit autant qu'il pleure, avec la même conviction, la même fréquence, . . .')—que deux événements distincts exprimés par deux propositions complètes. La reprise du verbe est cependant presque obligatoire lorsqu'on insiste sur le fait qu'une même action est réalisée par des agents distincts à des moments différents, cf. *kīma (~ki) ṛabbītu, kīma (~ki) ka-iṛabbi ᵒulādu* 'ainsi que je l'ai élevé, ainsi il élève ses enfants' (Marçais 1956:544).

L'emploi conjonctif de 'comme' devient plus fréquent lorsqu'il s'agit d'une comparaison entre un événement et sa représentation, ex. *ṛāni kīma ṛabbi ṛād aʿliyya* 'me voici comme le Bon Dieu a voulu que je sois', *louwītu, b-əl-ḥeqq, kīma ḥəbbīt* 'je l'ai embobiné, en vérité, comme je l'ai voulu', *nḥkī-lk eq-qṣeiya kīma ṣāṛet* 'je te raconterai la chose ainsi qu'elle s'est passé' (Marçais 1956:543). Dans ce cas l'événement est souvent énoncé une seule fois, mais il est présent comme complément du verbe de l'autre proposition, explicitement (nom abstrait, pronom, . . .) ou implicitement. Souvent, la comparative exprimant le souhait tend à s'employer avec un comparant elliptique (surtout à la deuxième personne), cf. *di:r ke:fma tibbi* 'Do as you want' (Owens 1984:184) et même sans comparé exprimé, cf. hassaniyya *kīv tubġi* '(. . .) comme tu veux'.[14] Dans certains parlers, les comparatives avec 'dire' (équivalentes au français 'comme tu di(rai)s', cf. en Egypte les expressions avec *tigul* comme *tigul kalb bulisi* 'on dirait [que c'était] un chien policier') en viennent à exprimer spécifiquement l'idée de comparaison, ce qui peut même rendre inutile la présence de la préposition *ke:f*. On peut comprendre ainsi que, sur la base des seuls exemples fournis, *guwi ke:f il-buġal* = *guwi ke:f itgu:l buġal* 'as strong as

[14] Autre exemple de comparant employé seul: *zai* + relatif (*ma* ou *il*) à Gabès, *zai-ma-mətʿalləm-bīh* 'conformément à ce à quoi il est habitué', *zaiy-ilġutlak* 'comme je t'ai dit' (Marçais & Farès 1932:234).

a mule', *(ma) tgu:l*, (< *ma itgul* 'what you say') soit donné en libyen comme le synonyme de *ke:f* (Owens 1984:184). Une évolution comparable est d'ailleurs attestée dans des expressions signifiant 'how?' à Dubaï (*š-gaayl*, cf. Johnstone 1967:129) ou 'as if' au Nigéria (*tugūl~tugunni*, cf. ci-dessous).[15]

3.2. *'Comme si', une relation d'identité sous condition*

La différence entre 'comme' et 'comme si' est généralement marquée, mais assez diversement d'un parler à l'autre. Ainsi l'arabe nigérien est-il le seul à employer *tugūl~tugunni* (< *tugūl-ni*) pour 'as if', ex. *šuf filān žāy tugunni ma žāy* 'I saw so and so coming as if he was hardly moving' (Owens 1993:192).[16] Là où elle est signalée (cf. Procházka 1993:138), la locution *ka-ʾanna* (parfois, comme à Damas, renforcée en *met^{e}l ka-ʾənno*) a souvent le sens de 'comme si', ainsi en Tunisie où elle est suivie d'un pronom affixe, ex. *ṣōṭa fi-weḍni kenni nasmaʿ fīh tao* 'sa voix est à mon oreille comme si je l'entendais en ce moment' (Boris 1958:519) et *ḥāsəbni kunni ʿ^{a}dūh* 'il m'a demandé des comptes avec la même rigueur que si j'étais son ennemi' (Marçais & Guiga 1958–1961:3350). Le comparatif *bḥāl* est employé comme subordonnant, tantôt avec *kān*, ex. *ḥellet-lha qəbbha b-ḥāl-da-kānet d-xotha* 'elle lui ouvrit son coeur comme si ç'avait été sa soeur' (Marçais 1956:544), tantôt avec *īla*, ex. *dār bḥāl īla kā-yʿəṛž* 'hizo como si cojeara' (Aguadé & Yaacoubi 1995:136), tantôt avec *lli*, ex. *kayakūl bḥāl lli ʿammṛ-u ma kla* 'il mange comme s'il n'avait jamais mangé de sa vie' (Caubet 1993:I, 237). La présence du relatif semble moins évidente que celle d'une conjonction, 'si' ou 'que', pourtant c'est aussi avec *lli* que se combine généralement *kīf*,[17] ex. *ʿ^{a}məlt kīf-əlli (kīf-əlla, kīf-əl) ma-rēt-šai* 'j'ai fait comme si je ne l'avais pas compris' (Marçais & Guiga 1958–1961:3544). Dans le parler de Takroûna, *kīf-əlli* 'comme celui qui; comme si' s'oppose au comparatif simple

[15] Pour un autre cas de grammaticalisation du verbe 'dire' en arabe, cf. Miller (2001).

[16] Peu fréquentes aussi sont les formes *ʿidd inn* (cf. *ʿadda* 'supputer, considérer que') et *ʾsmin* (< *ism in* litt. 'nom que') + aff. 'als ob', signalées pour la Palestine et le Liban à côté de *ka ʾinn* (cf. Bauer 1957:12).

[17] L'analyse de *lli* dans *kīf-əlli* n'est pas forcément identique à celle de *lli* de *zayy illi* 'als ob'. Sur les différents cas de grammaticalisation de *lli* dans l'arabe du Caire, cf. Woidich (1989).

kīf-ma 'comme, de même que', alors qu'à Gabès, curieusement, c'est l'absence de relatif après *zai* qui a le sens de 'comme si': comparer *zai-ġutlak* 'comme si je t'avais dit' et *zaiy-ilġutlak* 'comme je t'ai dit' (Marçais & Farès 1932:234). Le cas du hassaniyya est encore différent mais il peut donner une idée des différentes voies de grammaticalisation possibles. Dans ce dialecte, en effet, *kīv lli* et/ou *kīv* suivi d'un indéfini (*ḥadd* 'quelqu'un', *mäddä* 'des gens', . . .) correspondent exactement à 'comme si', ex. *huwwä tāki kīv ḥadd (kīv lli) mowžūʿ* 'il est couché comme s'il était malade', *huwwä yəbki kīv ḥadd (kīv lli?) umm-u mətwäffyä* 'il pleure comme si sa mère était morte', *haṛbu kīvət mäddä iṣuʿū-hä (kīv lli iṣuʿū-hum) äh*ᵊ*l lə-xlä* 'ils se sont enfuis comme s'ils étaient poursuivis par les diables'. Aucune de ces manières de dire n'exprime littéralement une hypothèse: le sens conditionnel vient du fait qu'on conjecture un certain événement et qu'on l'attribue fictivement à quelqu'un. En hassaniyya, on préfère souvent l'indéfini au relatif (renvoyant au sujet de la principale) pour incarner cette personne, mais le choix du relatif *lli* peut l'emporter (comme dans les autres parlers) si le sujet de la comparative est identique à celui de la principale, ex. *ntä kənt kīv lli hāmm-ak tərgəd (kīv ḥadd hāmm-u yərgəd)* 'c'était comme si tu voulais dormir, tu avais l'air de vouloir dormir'.

3.3. *'Avoir l'air de', de la ressemblance hypothétique au doute*

Quand on a deux propositions avec des sujets identiques, en hassaniyya, l'emploi de *lli* est d'autant plus fréquent que le comparé se réduit au minimum. Habituel avec l'inaccompli, ex. *huwwä kīv lli (kīv ḥadd) lāhi yəmši* 'il a l'air de vouloir partir' et quasi obligatoire avec l'accompli, ex. *huwwä kīv lli (kīv ḥadd?) mšä* 'il a l'air d'être parti', le choix de *kīv lli* au détriment de l'indéfini va de pair avec une spécialisation sémantique. On aboutit en effet, avec ces emplois particuliers de *kīv lli*, à la seule tournure typiquement dialectale dont dispose le mauritanien[18] pour exprimer le modal 'avoir l'air de, sembler, paraître'. La relation avec 'comme si' n'est certainement pas le fruit du hasard car les faits relevés à Takroûna sont presque identiques, quand on a en tête de proposition *kīf-əlli* avec le sens de 'on

[18] En arabe médian—ce que certains appellent *Educated Spoken Arabic*—, on dit souvent *ḏāhər li* 'il me semble [que]'.

dirait que, il semblerait que', ex. *kīf-əlli-ma-tḥebᵇš* 'il semblerait que tu ne veux pas' ou *kunn-u* 'on dirait (aurait dit) que', ex. *kunnu ḥatta-šay ma-ṣāṛ* 'on aurait dit que rien n'était advenu' (Marçais & Guiga 1958–1961:3545, 3350). Très proches aussi sont les usages de *kima* à Tenès, ex. *kima kunt-i mriḍa* 'c'est comme si tu étais malade, tu as l'air malade', *kima ḥabb iruḥ* 'il avait l'air d'avoir envie de partir', *ra-ki kima ḥabbit-i truḥ-i* 'tu as l'air d'avoir envie de partir' (données personnelles). C'est aussi le cas à Djidjelli même si, dans ce parler, il n'y a pas de rapport direct entre *b-ḥāl-da-kān* (l'équivalent de 'comme si') et *zei* + pron. aff. 'il paraîtrait que, il a l'air de, on dirait que', ex. *zeiyik ku-tetmesẖor b-en-nās* 'tu as l'air de te moquer des gens', *ʾēh zeiyu nsāna* 'eh, on dirait qu'il nous a oubliés', *yā-ẖhi zeiʸna mberrdīn* 'eh bien, il paraît que nous sommes refroidis [= bernés, dépouillés]' (Marçais 1956:524). Il y a bien, d'un parler à l'autre, quelques différences, comme si l'on se plaçait, tantôt du côté de l'observé (de l'impression qu'il donne, d'où 'il a l'air de, il semble'), tantôt du côté de l'observant (de l'impression qu'il reçoit et qu'il exprime, d'où 'on dirait que, sans doute [que]'). Enfin, à partir de la valeur d'évaluation ou d'estimation, il peut y avoir évolution vers une idée d'approximation (*kīma* 'comme, dans les, aux environs de' à Djidjelli, cf. Marçais 1956:523), vers une appréciation hypothétique (*kənn-* + pron. aff. 'peut-être que') ou vers une quasi-certitude, cf. au Liban *ma ǧāš kannu mrīḍ* 'il n'est pas venu; il est sans doute malade' (Feghali 1928:149).

3.4. *Simultanéité ou coïncidence dans le temps*

Le passage de la notion de conformité à celle de contemporanéité (à l'égal du français 'comme = quand'), qui ne semble pas (ou peu) attesté en dehors du Maghreb,[19] est très fréquent dans les dialectes occidentaux. Il concerne principalement le morphème *kīf* et ses variantes, même si une évolution identique est constatée à Alger et Cherchell pour la locution conjonctive *qədd-ma* 'à la mesure de ce que' (litt. 'dimension (quantité) de ce que') = 'pendant que' (Marçais 1977:237)—comme si les comparatifs d'origine adverbiale, *kīf* et *q~g.dd*, se prêtaient mieux que les autres à un transfert du formel (ou qualitatif)

[19] Au Liban *kīf* ne signifie jamais 'lorsque, étant donné que' comme en maghrébin, cf. Feghali (1928:234, n. 1).

au temporel. La conjonction temporelle *kīf, kī-, kēf, keyf* est généralement traduite par 'quand, lorsque', ex. *kīf žē ṣṣēf* 'quand l'été vint' et *kīf ižī ṣṣēf* 'quand l'été vient' (Marçais & Guiga 1958–1961:3541). Si de tels exemples manifestent une contemporanéité assez vague, d'autres correspondent plutôt à des moments successifs,[20] cf. *au nfūt ki yoxlāṣ el-ġāšī* 'je passerai quand la foule se sera écoulée' et *kīf txoržu l-əm-moṛža džəbṛōha* 'lorsque vous déboucherez sur la prairie vous la trouverez' (Marçais 1956:555). La notion temporelle de simultanéité (ou coïncidence dans le temps) est présente dans la plupart des dialectes, mais elle est parfois plus nette lorsque le parler affecte un morphème spécifique à cette valeur. Cela peut être la valeur unique du comparatif, ex. à Fès de *ki* (par rapport à *mnīn* 'quand'): *ki xrəžt mən əd-dāṛ, dxəl hūwa* 'juste au moment où je sortais de la maison, lui est entré' (Caubet 1993:I, 234). Cela peut être aussi la valeur plus particulière de l'une des variantes, ex. à Djidjelli de *kīma* (par rapport à *ki~kīf* 'quand, au moment où'): *tlāqīna āna w-eiyāh kīma ẖrežna mn-el-žāmoʿ* 'nous nous sommes rencontrés, lui et moi, au moment précis où nous sortions de la mosquée'. L'ajout de la particule de restriction *ġīr* (parfois *lla*), ne fait que renforcer la valeur limitative de la conjonction: *ʿoddāt aʿlīh maṛt-eṣ-ṣelṭān lla-kīma xoržet mn-el-ḥəmmām* 'la femme du sultan vint à passer devant lui juste comme elle sortait du bain' (Marçais 1956:556), *ġēr kīf ṭṭlaʿ ššems, qbaṭ ṭṭṛēq!* 'aussitôt que le soleil montera, mets-toi en route' (Brunot 1952:741).

3.5. *De la simultanéité à l'antériorité immédiate*

Comme précédemment (de 3.2. à 3.3.), le passage de deux propositions à une seule, fait que l'emploi de morphèmes identiques peut produire des sens apparentés mais distincts. Comparer *eš-šmīsa ġīr-kīma teṭlōʿ* 'le soleil se lève seulement [= il ne fait que se lever]' (Marçais 1956:556) au dernier exemple de 3.4. Au lieu d'avoir deux actions qui se passent (exactement) au même moment, il n'est question que d'une action mais elle est donnée comme présente ou venant juste de se produire, ce qui la fait coïncider avec le moment même de l'énonciation ou, s'il est précisé, avec tout autre temps de référence de l'énoncé. Le 'comparatif-temporel' semble pouvoir se suffire

[20] L'on perçoit alors comment une autre évolution (dont on ne parlera pas ici) peut se réaliser dans certains dialectes: le passage du sens temporel au sens causal (cf. français 'au moment où' > 'du moment que').

à lui-même s'il s'agit d'une locution dimorphématique comme *kimā* (*kamā?*) en andalou[21] et ailleurs, cf. *kmā wṣl* 'il vient d'arriver' (Beaussier 1956:877) ou *kīv änn* (+ pron. aff.) en hassaniyya, cf. *kīv änn-i kəlt* 'je viens juste de manger' ou *[aḥmäd] kīv änn-u žä* '[Ahmed] il vient juste d'arriver'.[22] Par contre, il semble toujours complété par une particule ou un auxiliaire (ou même les deux) lorsque 'au moment où' s'exprime par *kīf~kī* seul. Alors que dans le nord de la Tunisie, on dit *taw ki ža* 'il vient d'arriver', à Takroûna on trouve plutôt *ma-zāl* 'être encore': *ma-zāl kīf-ḥaṭṭ režlu f-əddunya* 'il vient tout juste de poser son pied en ce bas monde [il est encore tout jeune et sans expérience]', *mī-zālt kīf-tqālʿet* 'le moulin vient tout juste de sortir' (Marçais & Guiga 1958–1961:3541). A Tlemcen, on a *ġīr: ġīr kī uṣol* 'c'est seulement maintenant qu'il est arrivé [il vient d'arriver]' ou le présentatif *rāh*: *rāh kī mšā* 'il vient de partir' (Marçais 1902:192). Au Maroc, c'est encore *ġēr* ou bien *bāqe* 'rester': *bāqe kīf mšīt*[23] 'je viens de partir' (Brunot 1952:741). Enfin à Malte, on trouve *^{o}ād* 'encore' (+ pron. aff.): *kiənɛt ^{o}ād-^{o}a kīf tɛl^{o}ɛt* 'elle venait de partir', mais il faut préciser toutefois que le maltais présente quelques particularités. C'est en effet le seul parler où l'origine adverbiale de *kīf* est soulignée par son remplacement possible par *kemm* 'combien', ex. *insibū-ḥ ^{o}ād-u kɛmm tɛla* 'nous le trouvons qui vient juste de partir' (Vanhove 1993:1609, 1997:280). C'est aussi le seul cas où la notion d'antériorité immédiate se rencontre en dehors de l'accompli.[24] Quoi qu'il en soit, et comme Vanhove l'a souligné pour le maltais, il s'agit de constructions qui mettent en relief la valeur de parfait, résultant de l'implication du locuteur et de la référenciation du procès à l'acte d'énonciation—ce qui correspond, dans la théorie aspectuelle de David Cohen (1989:131 et sq.), à l'expression de la concomitance dans le passé.

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[21] Cf. *wa-hum k.mā daḫalū l-ʾandalus* 'ils viennent juste de pénétrer dans al-Andalus', *w-anā k.mā ṭlaqt al-ʿinān ilā l-ǧurī* 'alors que je venais de lâcher les rênes dans la course' (ex. fournis aimablement par Omar Bencheikh).

[22] En hassaniyya, l'emploi conjonctif de *kīv änn-* semble incomplet, cf. l'exemple suivant où la présence de *mən* est nécessaire: *mən kīv änn-i mšäyt žä aḥmäd* 'je venais juste de partir [quand] Ahmed est arrivé'.

[23] Noter, dans l'exemple donné, le non accord entre *bāqe* et *mšīt* (litt. 'il est resté au moment où je suis parti').

[24] Mais il s'agit peut-être alors d'un autre phénomène car, avec la conjugaison préfixale, la présence de *kemm* et *kīf* n'est pas obligatoire: cf. *dīk ^{o}ād-ni nirranǧa-^{o}a* <celle-là encore-moi j'arrange-elle> 'celle-là, je viens juste de la réparer' (Vanhove 1991:1611, 1997:281).

3.6. *Un cas particulier de (non-)coïncidence*

En hassaniyya, aux deux cas précédents bien distincts de *kīv-əlli* et *kīv-ənn* (+ pron. aff.), on peut ajouter le cas de semi-auxiliarisation de *kīv~kīvt* (+ pron. aff.), lorsqu'il apparaît en association, d'une part avec l'adverbe temporel (de forme diminutive) *gbäyḷ* 'auparavant, peu de temps avant', d'autre part avec le modal *ʿād* à l'inaccompli, ex. *zayd kīvt-u gbäyḷ iʿûd yimši šōṛ əl-ḥāsi kəll yäwm əs-səbt* 'Zayd devrait [aurait dû prévoir d'] aller au puits tous les samedis' et *ʿayšä kīvət-hä gbäyḷ tʿūd mšāt (mäzālət mʿa ṣ-ṣbāḥ)* 'Aïcha aurait dû partir [de bonne heure]'. On remarquera tout d'abord—ce qui, conjugué à la présence d'un pronom affixé, peut être un indice de grammaticalisation—la présence du suffixe *-t* devenue obligatoire avec un sujet féminin et habituelle avec un masculin, alors qu'après la préposition *kīv* 'comme', elle est possible avec un féminin (*kīv[ət]-hä*) mais impossible avec un masculin (*kīv-u*). Par ailleurs le sens de la construction ne peut s'appréhender que d'une manière très globale, car l'évaluation semble se faire à la fois sur le plan formel de la ressemblance ('comme si') et sur le plan temporel de la simultanéité ('au moment où'). Les valeurs d'obligation et d'irréel (du présent ou du passé, selon l'aspect du verbe) ou de non-implication du locuteur (non-testimonial) semblent produites indirectement par la non-coïncidence entre le moment de la comparaison (et de l'énonciation) et le moment (antérieur) où l'action est projetée.

3.7. *Conclusion*

Le champ de la comparaison d'égalité~identité est certainement un domaine, encore peu exploré en arabe, où la grammaticalisation est très active. La variété des formes utilisées comme préposition ou conjonction avec le sens de 'comme' n'est pas nouvelle (cf. Lentin 1997:351–358, 449–451) et la préférence pour une forme ou une autre n'est pas tellement prévisible, même si des aires dialectales se dessinent, correspondant sans doute souvent à une diffusion par vague. Les chemins de grammaticalisation, par contre, se ressemblent beaucoup *mutatis mutandis* (selon la règle de l'unidirectionnalité) et on a vu qu'ils vont plus ou moins loin, en fonction du sémantisme et de la nature catégorielle de la forme de base. Seule la forme adverbiale *kīf* semble en effet donner naissance à des cas répétés d'auxiliarisation, et cela dans des dialectes qui n'entretiennent que

des liens historiques très relâchés (c'est le cas en particulier du maltais et du hassaniyya). Le fait qu'on trouve, dans plusieurs dialectes, deux voies de grammaticalisation pour *kīf*, susceptibles d'aboutir à deux auxiliaires de prédication formellement et sémantiquement différents (peut-être même trois en hassaniyya), illustre à la fois la forte tendance de l'arabe à former des quasi-verbes et la fréquence de la polygrammaticalité (cf. Craig 1991). Compte-tenu des valeurs prises parfois par ces auxiliaires, on peut penser enfin au préverbe *kä-* dont les valeurs d'éventuel (en andalou) et de concomitant (au Maghreb) sont partiellement comparables (cf. Ferrando 1995–1996: 117–126).

L'étymologie de ce *kä-* (~*ku-*) renvoie vraisemblablement, non au comparatif *ka-*, mais à une forme abrégée du verbe *kān* (que la forme retenue soit celle du participe ou celle de l'accompli; pour une discussion de ces hypothèses voir notamment Ferrando [1995–1996: 128–140]). Cependant sur la base, d'une part des phénomènes de grammaticalisation observés à propos du comparatif *kīf*, d'autre part des ressemblances de comportement entre les emplois préverbaux de *kä-* et de *kīf*, on peut peut-être reconsidérer l'hypothèse selon laquelle les usages préverbaux de *kä-* auraient été (au moins indirectement) influencés par ceux du comparatif (sémitique) *ka-* (éventuellement sous la forme *kaʾanna* ou *kaʾan* comme le suggère Kampffmeyer, cf. M. Cohen 1924:71; Singer 1980:263–264). Enfin, et quoi qu'il en soit de l'origine du préverbal *kä-* (~*ku-*), le rapprochement de ce *kä-* (~*ku-*) avec *kīf* permet de voir comment les évolutions de deux unités distinctes peuvent générer, l'une et l'autre, deux valeurs presque contradictoires, du moins en apparence, celle d'éventualité et celle de concomitance.

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DEIXIS ET FOCALISATION: LA PARTICULE *TA* EN ARABE DE YAFIʿ (YÉMEN)

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1. *Introduction*

L'arabe de Yafiʿ, au Yémen,[1] appartient au type des dialectes à suffixe *-k* à l'accompli. Il possède un riche inventaire de particules énonciatives dont certaines sont classées traditionnellement sous le terme de 'présentatifs', car elles ont à voir avec la deixis. La terminologie, commode, n'explique pas tous les fonctionnements en contexte, souvent très variés, ni les propriétés sémantiques ou les différences qui fondent leur spécificité. Elles ont, par ailleurs, des origines diverses. Ainsi les particules *qad* et *raʿ*, déjà étudiées dans Vanhove (1996), proviennent, respectivement, d'un adverbe bien connu dans de nombreuses variétés d'arabe, et de l'impératif d'un verbe 'voir'. Quant à la particule *ta*,[2] objet de cette étude, elle fait partie intégrante du système des déictiques, étymologiquement et synchroniquement. Il convient de préciser toutefois qu'elle est d'un emploi très minoritaire dans cette catégorie. A titre indicatif, dans un échantillon de vingt contes, elle ne représente que trois des 738 occurrences de démonstratifs recensées. De manière générale, les autres démonstratifs à base *t*[3] sont rares à Yafiʿ et n'atteignent pas une fréquence de 5%.

Les locuteurs de la région accordent à cette particule une valeur quasi verbale puisqu'ils en font l'équivalent d'un verbe 'être'. Quoiqu'il en soit de la validité de cette intuition (voir ci-dessous 3.1), il se cristallise autour de *ta* un sentiment d'identité linguistique qui la fait considérer comme typique du dialecte par les locuteurs eux-mêmes.

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[1] La région, montagneuse, est située à environ 200 km au nord-est d'Aden.
[2] La particule est invariable, mail la voyelle peut aussi être prononcée longue: *tā*.
[3] Les autres démonstratifs à base *-t-* sont *tāk*, *tiyah* et *hātiyah*. Ceux à base interdentale sonore *ḏ*, les plus fréquents, sont au nombre de six: *ḏa*, *hāḏa*, *ḏiyah*, *ḏaliya*, *ḏāla* et *haḏāla*.

A la lumière d'énoncés relevés en contexte naturel, dans des pièces de littérature orale,[4] je montrerai que la particule *ta* assume quatre fonctions: démonstratif, copule, présentatif et enfin focalisateur dans les énoncés nominaux et verbaux, et je dégagerai l'invariant sémantique qui les unit à un autre niveau d'analyse.

2. *La valeur de démonstratif*

Bien que cela semble être la fonction première de la particule, si l'on s'en remet à l'étymologie, les emplois de *ta* comme déterminant nominal, en fonction d'adjectif démonstratif, sont relativement marginaux par rapport à ses autres valeurs et ne concernent, dans le corpus, que les personnes âgées de plus de 50 ans. Il se pourrait donc que cet usage de *ta* soit en train de disparaître du parler. Proportionnellement, *ta*, adjectif démonstratif, ne représente que 11% des énoncés où il est utilisé (7 occurrences). Par ailleurs, au plan syntaxique, *ta* ne peut que précéder le déterminé alors que l'ordre inverse est très fréquent avec les autres démonstratifs:

(1) *ta al-mafātiḥ enṭraḥēn fōq el-ʿatabah.*
< ce / les-clés / elles furent mises / sur / le-seuil >
'Ces clés ont été laissées sur le seuil'

(2) *ṣīrū wa xluṣu ta al-aḏmād la ʿmār-kum!*
< allez+M[5] / et / détachez+M / ce / l'attelage de bœufs / à / même-vous >
'Allez détacher cet attelage vous-mêmes!'

Ni le corpus, ni le travail d'élicitation n'ont fourni d'exemples où *ta* pourrait avoir la fonction d'un pronom démonstratif sujet, alors que cela est possible avec d'autres démonstratifs de la langue.

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[4] Le corpus utilisé ici a été enregistré sur place en 1994 et 1998. Il est composé d'une quarantaine de contes, anecdotes et légendes hagiographiques recueillis auprès de cinq locutrices et deux locuteurs, d'âges et de conditions sociales variés. Le nombre d'exemples s'élève au total à 63. Sur certains points, il a pu être complété par un travail d'élicitation avec un informateur âgé d'une trentaine d'années.

[5] Abréviations: CONC = concomitant, COP = copule, ex. = exemple, F = féminin, FOC = focalisation, FUT = futur, lit. = littéralement, m = masculin, NEG = négation.

3. *Les valeurs de copule et de présentatif*

3.1 ta = *copule*

J'ai mentionné, dans l'introduction, que les locuteurs estiment que *ta* serait l'équivalent du verbe 'être'. Ce sentiment reflète effectivement un certain aspect de son fonctionnement, puisqu'il arrive que la particule s'utilise comme une simple copule reliant un sujet nominal déterminé à un prédicat nominal indéterminé.[6] Mais il s'agit là d'un usage extrêmement rare qui n'est apparu qu'une seule fois dans le corpus spontané. L'ordre des termes y est nécessairement sujet—copule—prédicat:

> (3) *u yšqaff-hā bi-r-rās u rās-hā* **ta** *nosf-ēn.*
> < et / il frappe-elle / dans-la-tête / et / tête-elle / COP / moitié-DUEL >
> 'Et il l'a frappée sur la tête et sa tête s'est retrouvée en deux moitiés.'

Qu'un démonstratif en vienne à assumer la fonction d'une copule dans des énoncés nominaux attributifs (ou équatifs), pour expliciter une prédication qualitative, n'a rien de surprenant. C'est en effet un processus de grammaticalisation assez courant dans les langues du monde sur lequel il est inutile de revenir ici (voir, par exemple, pour l'éthio-sémitique Cohen 1984:591). Sémantiquement, l'évolution s'explique par une propriété commune aux deux emplois, qui consiste à attirer l'attention sur un élément de l'énoncé, à le singulariser, rôle fondamental des déictiques. Pour le démonstratif, il s'agit de pointer un substantif, quelle que soit sa fonction, alors que, dans le cas de la copule, c'est la relation prédicative qui unit deux termes d'un énoncé nominal qui est ainsi mise en relief. Ceci a pour corollaire que la portée syntaxique de *ta* diffère dans les deux emplois et contribue à les différencier: dans le premier cas, il s'agit de la relation déterminant—déterminé dans un syntagme nominal et, dans le second, de l'explicitation du lien entre le sujet et le prédicat dans la relation prédicative.

3.2 ta = *présentatif*

Dans la ligne de sa valeur déictique, *ta* peut aussi faire fonction de présentatif d'un énoncé complet. Elle est alors nécessairement suivie

[6] L'arabe de Yafiʿ connaît par ailleurs des phrases nominales sans copule.

d'un pronom sujet indépendant, éventuellement précédé de la conjonction de subordination, *ʾan*,[7] et d'un prédicat nominal ou verbal. Cette valeur est assez rare dans le corpus. Dans l'enchaînement discursif, elle n'apparaît qu'après un changement de sujet dans le récit, dans des suites de courts énoncés juxtaposés décrivant des actions ou des états. La particule désigne alors une proposition dans son ensemble et non plus seulement le lien qui unit le sujet au prédicat:

> (Une femme vient de cacher le héros dans un placard et lui décrit son propre comportement et celui du démon une fois qu'il sera arrivé)
> (4) *qālah yā ha šuf,* ***tā*** *hu yigī l-ʿifrī, yiʁūl ʿarf ʾinsī. ʾaʁūl ʾani ʾinsī.* ***tā ʾan*** *hū b-yinfit iš-šarār.* ***tā*** *hū rāqəd. wun hū mhemməd* ***tā*** *hū hādəd. u hidd.*
> < elle a dit / ô / voilà / regarde /voilà / il / il vient / le-démon / il dit / odeur / être humain / je dis / je+F / être humain / voilà / que / il / CONC-il souffle / étincelles / voilà / il / dormant / et / il / apaisé / voilà / il / éveillé / et / il se leva >
> 'Elle a dit: "tiens, regarde! Le voilà qui arrive, le démon. Il va dire: "ça sent bon la chair fraîche". Je dirai: "je suis de la chair fraîche". Et le voilà qui souffle du feu. Le voilà qui dort et s'apaise. Le voilà qui s'éveille. Et il est réveillé"'

Ces usages polyfonctionnels de copule et de présentatif pour un même morphème se retrouvent, dans le parler, avec une autre particule énonciative, *raʿ* (cf. Vanhove 1996).

4. *La fonction de focalisateur*

L'usage le plus fréquent de la particule *ta* est celui d'un morphème de focalisation et ce, aussi bien dans des énoncés nominaux que verbaux. Les effets de sens produits par la focalisation dépendent étroitement des constituants de l'énoncé, du contexte ainsi que de l'enchaînement discursif des propositions. Avant d'examiner le fonctionnement et les valeurs de *ta*, je préciserai d'abord dans quel sens j'utilise le terme de focalisation. Caron (2000b:7) en donne la définition suivante: "La focalisation est l'imbrication dans un même énoncé de deux propositions: une relation prédicative et l'identification d'un terme de cette relation prédicative. Ce qui est asserté est l'identification du terme focalisé, la relation prédicative étant préconstruite". Pour

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[7] Le corpus n'en a fourni qu'un seul exemple.

la focalisation du sujet, Robert (1993:32–34) décompose ainsi l'énoncé *c'est Pierre qui est venu*: "*quelqu'un est venu* (préconstruit) et *ce quelqu'un* (parmi les possibles), *c'est Pierre* (assertion). La focalisation du sujet constitue donc une assertion complexe comportant à la fois:

- la désignation du sujet syntaxique S_2 = l'objet de l'assertion (rhème);
- la comparaison avec d'autres sujets possibles (S_2/S_x);
- l'effectivité de la relation prédicative qui est préconstruite".

Cette caractérisation est généralisable à tout énoncé focalisé, la seule variation, contingente, portant sur la nature syntaxique de l'élément focalisé. Il peut s'agir aussi d'un complément ou du prédicat, verbal ou nominal. Il est important d'ajouter qu'une telle approche "n'implique pas que le préconstruit soit effectivement connu de l'interlocuteur, ni même effectivement réalisé dans le contexte préalable: il est seulement posé comme tel par l'énonciateur" (Robert, 1993:34). Dans la focalisation, "l'un des constituants phrastiques assure une double fonction, à la fois syntaxique et rhématique [. . .]: le centre assertif (focus ou noyau rhématique qui fait l'objet de l'assertion est présenté comme l'information apportée par l'énoncé) est distingué du reste de la relation prédicative où il occupe cependant une fonction syntaxique. La relation prédicative est alors reléguée au rang de préconstruit: elle est présentée comme déjà posée, validée, indépendamment de la prise en charge assertive du locuteur" (Robert 2000:234).

Le fait qu'un déictique, démonstratif et présentatif, puisse être aussi une copule et une particule de focalisation est un phénomène de grammaticalisation assez courant et les trois fonctions sont souvent liées dans les langues du monde, voire coïncident comme en arabe de Yafiʿ (cf. Danon-Boileau 1992:22). Il suffira ici de rappeler la tournure française *c'est X qui*, qui utilise, en plus du pronom relatif, une copule verbale et un démonstratif. La polyfonctionalité du morphème unique *ta* trouve son unité sémantique dans la désignation d'un constituant de l'énoncé, dans le fait d'attirer l'attention de l'interlocuteur sur un terme particulier. Ce qui produit de la variation c'est la portée syntaxique de la particule *ta* et l'articulation des énoncés au contexte.

4.1 *Syntaxe de l'énoncé focalisé*

Pour l'expression de la focalisation au moyen de la particule *ta*, l'arabe de Yafiʿ utilise plusieurs structures syntaxiques qui varient

légèrement selon le type d'énoncé, nominal ou verbal, et le type de conjugaison. Deux règles sont constantes: *ta* ne peut jamais être suivie directement par un nominal (ce qui lui donnerait le statut d'un adjectif démonstratif), et la particule est toujours placée en tête de l'énoncé focalisé. Elle peut être suivie par:

(a) un pronom personnel sujet suivi soit d'un prédicat nominal (si l'énoncé est négatif le morphème de négation se place avant le pronom), soit d'un prédicat verbal à l'accompli ou à l'inaccompli (précédé ou non d'une particule de concomitant ou de futur). C'est la structure la plus fréquente (27 ex.);
(b) une préposition à valeur prédicative locative ou attributive (*ʿala* 'sur', *maʿa* 'avec', *ʿand* 'chez'), munie d'un pronom suffixe se référant au sujet, suivie d'une expansion nominale du prédicat (l'ordre inverse est rare, cf. ex. 10) (7 ex.);
(c) un verbe à l'accompli obligatoirement précédé soit de l'adverbe *qad* 'déjà', soit de la particule de négation *māšī* (7 ex.);
(d) une proposition hypothétique introduite par la particule de conditionnel *lā* (1 ex.);
(e) un verbe à l'impératif et, dans un seul cas, chez une jeune locutrice, un verbe à l'accompli (3 ex.).

On observe donc que la particule *ta* est majoritairement associée, dans la syntaxe, au sujet de l'énoncé, sous la forme d'un pronom anaphorique. On notera également que pour les énoncés nominaux de type (a) l'ordre des constituants syntaxiques est similaire à celui où *ta* a valeur de présentatif (3.2). Il faudra donc expliquer les différences de fonction (cf. 4.3) pour une structure identique.

Statistiquement, sur 44 occurrences, les énoncés nominaux focalisés représentent 43% des exemples du corpus (19 occurrences), les énoncés verbaux 57% (25 occurrences) dont 44% de verbes à l'accompli (11 occurrences), 48% à l'inaccompli (12 occurrences) et 8% à l'impératif (2 occurrences).

4.2 *La focalisation contrastive du sujet*

Alors que *ta* est le plus souvent une marque de focalisation du sujet, la valeur de focalisation contrastive du sujet est assez rare dans le corpus. Elle n'a été relevée que dans les énoncés verbaux, jamais nominaux, de type (a), et seulement lorsque le sujet nominal ou pronominal est explicité ou repris après le prédicat, qui est toujours un verbe d'action. C'est donc la nature des constituants de l'énoncé qui est ici déterminante pour comprendre l'effet de sens produit par la

focalisation. L'objet de l'assertion porte seulement sur la désignation du sujet syntaxique, par opposition à d'autres sujets possibles. On notera, par ailleurs, que dans les trois exemples du corpus, le verbe est à l'accompli, mais je n'ai pas encore réussi à savoir si cela était une contrainte absolue dans le parler. On pourrait en douter, étant donné que l'inaccompli est utilisé lorsque la focalisation prend une autre valeur (cf. 4.4, ex. 11 et 14).

> (5) *yiqūl bi rigl et-tēs ka*d̲*a. ʾafēn* ***ta*** *hū daʿas-ah et-tēs u hu li ʿamr-oh*
> < il dit / avec / pied / le-bouc / ainsi / soit disant / FOC / il / il piétina-lui / le-bouc / et / il / qui / même-lui >
> 'Il avait fait avec la patte du bouc comme ça, pour faire croire que c'était le bouc qui l'avait piétiné alors que c'était lui-même'

> (6) *ġāl wā x-ī lā! māšī kad̲ā,* ***ta*** *hī qālah l-marah inna-k qalk . . .*
> < il a dit / ô / frère-moi / non / NEG / ainsi / FOC / elle / elle a dit / la-femme / que-toi+M / tu as dit+M >
> 'Il a dit: "ô, mon frère, non! ce n'est pas comme ça, c'est ta femme qui a dit que tu avais dit . . ."'

On peut décomposer ainsi les deux exemples ci-dessus:

> ex. (5): *quelqu'un l'a piétiné* (préconstruit) et *ce quelqu'un* (parmi les possibles) *c'est le bouc* (rhème, objet de l'assertion).
> ex. (6): *quelqu'un a dit quelque chose* (préconstruit) et *ce quelqu'un* (parmi les possibles) *c'est ta femme* (rhème, objet de l'assertion).

4.3 *La focalisation contrastive et intensive du prédicat*

Un seul exemple du corpus exprime une focalisation contrastive du prédicat, doublée d'une valeur intensive, mais il se trouve être particulièrement éclairant pour comprendre la différence entre les fonctions de copule, de présentatif et de focalisation de la particule *ta*. Il s'agit d'un énoncé nominal où le sujet pronominal suit directement la particule *ta*:

> (Un mari met en doute les accusations d'adultère portées contre sa femme. Son interlocuteur insiste)
> (7) *lamma qa raḥna qarīb sākən-ok bā-tšūf, il-kalām* d̲*a ḥaqq-i* ***ta*** *hu ṣaḥīḥ*
> < quand / déjà / nous / proche / demeure-toi+M / FUT-tu vois / la-parole / FOC / de-moi / ce / il / véritable >
> 'Quand nous serons près de ton domicile, tu verras que je dis bien la vérité [lit. tu verras, mes paroles, c'est vrai qu'elles sont]'

Si l'on compare cet énoncé à l'ex. (3) où *ta* fait fonction de copule, on constate d'abord une différence structurelle, à savoir la présence

supplémentaire du pronom sujet *hu* en (7). Mais c'est avant tout l'analyse énonciative et intonative qui va permettre d'en comprendre la structure grammaticale et d'interpréter *il-kalām ḏa ḥaqqi* non pas comme le sujet syntaxique, mais comme un topique, c'est-à-dire un constituant ne relevant pas de la syntaxe au sens strict du terme.[8] La suite de la proposition, *ta hu ṣaḥīḥ*, constitue, quant à elle, un énoncé complet, dans lequel le pronom *hu* assume la fonction syntaxique de sujet, tandis que *ṣaḥīḥ* est le prédicat. On se retrouve donc en présence d'une structure identique à l'une de celles relevées pour la valeur de présentatif (cf. 3.2). Or si l'on examine le contexte précédant l'ex. (7) on s'aperçoit qu'il est radicalement différent de celui de l'ex. (4). Alors que le second se contentait de présenter une suite de procès et d'états, en rupture discursive avec le contexte précédent, le premier oppose clairement, dans la chaîne parlée, deux opinions différentes sur un même sujet: le caractère mensonger ou véridique des propos de l'un des protagonistes du conte. On pourrait gloser ainsi l'énoncé: *mes paroles ne sont pas mensongères comme tu le prétends, mais vraies*. Ce qui est désigné comme l'objet de l'assertion et identifié comme rhème est ici la véracité des paroles, par comparaison avec le mensonge supposé par son interlocuteur. La relation prédicative préconstruite à laquelle le terme focalisé s'articule figure explicitement dans le contexte, dans l'enchaînement discursif:—*Ta femme est adultère.*—*Ce n'est pas possible, elle est d'une grande famille.* L'exemple peut être décomposé en *mes paroles ont une qualité* (préconstruit) et *cette qualité* (parmi les possibles) *c'est d'être véridiques* (rhème, objet de l'assertion). Pour comprendre le fonctionnement de *ta* dans sa globalité, on est donc obligé de sortir du cadre strict de la syntaxe de la phrase.

Cette valeur de focalisation contrastive et intensive du prédicat pose un problème de portée syntaxique puisque c'est le sujet, et non le prédicat, qui est précédé de la marque de focalisation. On pourrait tout d'abord invoquer l'ordre des termes pour expliquer ce paradoxe. En effet, dans ce type d'énoncé nominal attributif, si la particule *ta* précédait le prédicat, elle ne pourrait être interprétée que comme

[8] Pour des recherches récentes sur les phénomènes de topicalisation, voir Caron (2000a).

une copule. La contrainte syntaxique est certes réelle, mais elle ne rend pas compte à elle seule de la valeur prise par l'énoncé. Il faut, en outre, avoir recours à la sémantique. On remarque en effet qu'il s'agit, dans cet exemple, d'une prédication de qualité. On a vu (4) que la focalisation du sujet comporte trois composantes qui ne se situent pas sur le même plan. Robert (1993:33) précise que "l'élément rhématique ne constitue qu'une partie de l'énoncé et [l']assertion [focalisée] est en quelque sorte à double ressort puisqu'en même temps que l'on désigne le sujet, on pose du même coup l'effectivité de la relation prédicative et l'existence du sujet de cette relation. Il y a donc une dissociation entre la *désignation qualitative* du sujet qui fait l'objet de l'assertion et *l'existence* de ce sujet qui, tout comme la relation prédicative, ne constitue pas l'objet de l'assertion mais est *préconstruite*".

La syntaxe de l'ex. (7) reflète cette dissociation, la qualité de l'anaphorique sujet qui reprend un énoncé complet, étant d'être véridique. Le sujet n'est plus alors que le support de cette qualité exprimée par le prédicat nominal. Dans le contexte précis de l'énoncé, c'est cette propriété sémantique qualitative qui est ainsi mise en relief par la particule *ta*. Il serait intéressant de savoir si la valeur de focalisation contrastive du prédicat est limitée aux énoncés nominaux ou si elle s'étend aux verbes de qualité.

Un autre problème vient de la valeur intensive de l'énoncé. Robert (1993:33) explique la valeur d'exclamation intensive, du type *Ce qu'il est bon ce riz!*, qu'on trouve fréquemment associée à la focalisation du sujet dans des langues aussi différentes que le wolof, le français ou le touareg, par une absence de repère contextuel qui entraîne un auto-repérage et par là, une valeur de haut degré.[9] Or ce n'est pas le cas dans l'ex. (7), qui au demeurant n'est pas exclamatif, mais seulement intensif. Le contexte qui le précède *(—Ta femme est adultère.—Ce n'est pas possible, elle est d'une grande famille)* constitue clairement le repère auquel il s'articule. Faut-il remettre en cause l'explication de Robert, ou bien mettre cette différence de repérage sur le compte du caractère non exclamatif de l'énoncé de Yafiʿ et si oui, comment expliquer cette valeur simplement intensive? Le corpus est trop limité

[9] Sur cette notion de haut degré, voir Culioli (1974:8).

pour avancer des hypothèses fiables, mais un travail d'élicitation qu'il ne m'a pas encore été permis de faire permettrait sans doute d'apporter des éléments de réponse.

4.4 *La focalisation explicative à valeur causale*

La valeur la plus fréquemment associée aux énoncés focalisés, qu'ils soient nominaux ou verbaux, est l'explication de la situation. Elle apporte une valeur causale à l'ensemble de la relation prédicative, et ce, sans qu'il y ait contraste avec un autre énoncé ou constituant d'un énoncé. Robert (1993:35) en a fort bien expliqué les mécanismes sémantique et syntaxique de production: il s'agit des cas où "l'énonciateur saute le maillon du préconstruit dans l'enchaînement discursif et articule directement l'énoncé focalisé à un contexte où le préconstruit n'est pas mentionné". Dans ce cas, le terme identifié par l'opération de focalisation et qui constitue le rhème de l'énoncé est la relation prédicative dans sa globalité. Cette valeur se rencontre avec tous les types d'énoncés décrits en (4.1) et n'est donc pas particulièrement liée à la focalisation du sujet puisque *ta* peut aussi précéder directement un prédicat ou une proposition. Tout se passe donc comme si la valeur causale d'explication de la situation était indifférente à la nature syntaxique de l'élément focalisé.

Voici une suite d'exemples qui couvre un maximum de structures différentes. Afin de bien faire ressortir le rôle de l'enchaînement discursif dans la construction du sens de l'énoncé focalisé, les contextes d'occurrence figurent entre parenthèses, avant l'exemple.

Enoncés nominaux de type (a) à sujet focalisé:

(Un homme explique à une mère que pour découvrir qui est son vrai fils elle doit ôter son voile)
(8) *ḏa yuṣal, yʁūl is-sitr yā wāldyeh, wa yigzáʿ wa yibett,* ***tā*** *māšī hū ban-eš. ḏa yeqūl is-sitr yā wāldyeh wa yiddif-uš* ***tā*** *hū ban-eš*
< ce / il arrive / il dit / le-secret / ô / mère / et / il passe / et / il part / FOC / NÉG / il / fils-toi+F / ce / il-dit / le-secret / ô / mère / et / il-couvre-toi+F / FOC / il / fils-toi+F >
'Celui qui arrive et dit: "couvre-toi ô mère!", passe et s'en va, c'est qu'il n'est pas ton fils. Celui qui dit: "couvre-toi ô mère !" et te couvre, c'est qu'il est ton fils'

Enoncés nominaux de type (b) à syntagme attributif ou locatif focalisé:

(Une femme apporte tous les jours de la nourriture empoisonnée à ses hôtes qui finissent par se douter de quelque chose. Lorsqu'ils l'invitent à déjeuner avec eux, elle refuse en avouant)
(9) *qālah* ***ta*** *ʿalē-h summ,* ***ta*** *ʿalē-h summ!*
< elle a dit / FOC / sur-lui / poison / FOC / sur-lui / poison >
'Elle a dit: "c'est qu'il y a du poison, c'est qu'il y a du poison!"'

(Après qu'ils ont mangé au repas de noces, on annonce aux convives qu'ils doivent payer)
(10) *qāl* ***ta*** *ʿād ad-dafaʿ ʿandu-kum*
< il a dit / FOC / encore / le-paiement / chez-vous >
'Il a dit: "c'est que vous avez encore à payer"'

Enoncés verbaux de type (a) à sujet focalisé:

(Un homme s'excuse, en se disculpant, de ne pouvoir accompagner sa femme)
(11) *ʁāl raʿī-nī* ***ta*** *ana abekker ma ana s-sūq*
< il a dit / vois+F-moi / FOC / je+M / je vais-tôt / quoi / je+M / le-marché >
'Il a dit: "écoute-moi, c'est que j'y vais tôt, moi, au marché"'

(Ba Nuwwas presse al-Has de partir avec lui et lui en explique la raison)
(12) *qāl la-h ya hiya yā* ***ta*** *ana addok la-k ʿala bent eṣ-ṣulṭān, al-yām ʾa-nbett!*
< il a dit / à-lui / ô / allons / ô / FOC / je+M / je donnai / à-toi+M / sur / fille / le-sultan / le-jour / FUT-nous partons >
'Il lui a dit: "allons-y, c'est que je t'ai arrangé le mariage avec la fille du sultan. Allez! On y va!"'

Enoncés verbaux de type (c) à prédicat focalisé:

(Un personnage joue à l'imbécile et décapite tous les moutons de son patron, soi-disant pour les abriter de la pluie, sauf un qu'il s'était réservé comme rétribution de son travail)
(13) *qāl hāḏe šiġāwah.* ***ta*** *qa ʿalama-hā la-h bi l-bēt*
< il a dit / ce / salaire / FOC / déjà / il distingua-elle / à-lui / avec / la-maison >
'Il a dit: "Celui-ci est mon salaire". C'est qu'il s'en était marqué un dans la maison'

(Une sorcière demande à une femme d'empoisonner son beau-fils mais d'épargner son propre fils, elle s'exclame alors)
(14) *qālah* ***tā*** *māšī aʿrif-hom qa-hom ʿīn-eh!*
< elle a dit / FOC / NÉG / je sais-eux / déjà-eux / semblable-F >
'Elle a dit: "c'est que je ne sais pas les distinguer, ils se ressemblent tellement!"'

Enoncés verbaux de type (d) à proposition focalisée:

(Une mère annonce à ses enfants qu'ils ont un demi-frère)
(15) *dri hu ḏāyeʿ u ʿād-oh ʾa-yiʿīš wa māt [. . .]*[10] ***ta*** *ani awṣī-kom,* ***tā*** *lā ʾawi tankirūn-ah*
< ne pas savoir / il / perdu / et / encore-lui / FUT-il vit / et / il mourut [. . .] FOC / je+F / je demande-vous / FOC / si / il retourna / vous reniez+M-lui >
'Je ne sais pas s'il est perdu ou s'il est encore en vie ou s'il est mort [. . .] Ce que je vous demande,[11] c'est que, s'il revient, vous le reniiez'

Enoncés verbaux de type (e) à prédicat focalisé:

(Une marâtre s'attendait à recevoir du ciel un morceau de pain et une grappe de raisin, mais elle est étonnée d'obtenir quelque chose de plus gros, qui s'avérera être une pierre)
(16) *qālah dri eš hu mā ani* ***ta*** *nazalah kabīrah ḥaqq-at-ī*
< elle a dit / ne pas savoir / quoi / il / quoi / je+F / FOC / elle descendit / grande / de-F-moi >
'Elle a dit: "je ne sais pas ce que c'est, quant à moi, c'est qu'il m'en descend un très grand à moi"'

(Une femme s'en va et demande à ses voisins d'empêcher qu'on vole sa nourriture)
(17) *qālah wa ʾahl l-madīneh,* ***tā*** *irweʿū ḥadd igī yākul il-laḥmah*
< elle a dit / ô / gens / la-ville / FOC / veillez à+M / personne / il vient / il mange / la-viande >
'Elle a dit: "Ô gens de la ville, c'est que vous devez veiller à ce que personne ne vienne manger la viande"'

On remarquera, dans ce dernier exemple, que l'énoncé focalisé prend également une valeur modale d'obligation.

5. *Focalisation et oralité*

Avant de conclure, je voudrais aborder rapidement le rôle de la focalisation dans l'analyse que l'on peut faire des constituants d'un texte oral. Au plan discursif, il arrive en effet que la particule de focalisation, suivie d'un pronom, se distingue du reste de l'énoncé et appartienne au *préambule* d'un *paragraphe*, défini comme un ensemble textuel formant, à l'oral, une unité de sens. Par préambule, on entend les

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[10] La locutrice répète simplement l'énoncé.
[11] Il y a bien, dans cet énoncé aussi, une focalisation à valeur explicative qu'il est difficile de traduire en français sans rendre la phrase agrammaticale.

éléments introducteurs qui régissent la construction du discours. Le syntagme introduit par *ta* constitue plus précisément le *point de vue*, au sens que lui donne Morel (1997:147), c'est-à-dire le constituant qui "explicit[e] l'identité de l'énonciateur dont le point de vue se trouve engagé dans l'énoncé". Dans le corpus, le sujet et le prédicat qui suivent le syntagme introduit par *ta* sont toujours des substantifs. La valeur de l'ensemble de l'énoncé demeure celle d'une explication de la situation:

(Un homme accepte d'héberger chez lui des jeunes filles perdues dans la forêt après qu'elles lui ont promis de le marier à la plus jeune d'entre elles. Elles vont sauver leur sœur de ce mariage grâce à un stratagème. Le récit qui précède se traduit ainsi: ' "Monte-nous chez toi et nous te marierons à Petit Soleil!" Il leur a dit: "D'accord." Il leur a descendu une corde, elles sont montées chez lui.')

(18) *qālēn* ***tā*** *reḥna sālef-na ṯānī*
< elles dirent / FOC / nous / coutumes-nous / deuxième >
'Elles ont dit: "c'est que nous, nos coutumes sont différentes" '

(Renard vient de jouer un sale tour à Corbeau et s'apprête à en commettre un autre. La conteuse donne, dans une incise, la raison de son comportement)
(19) *il-lēleh eṯ-ṯāniyeh hāḏa eṯ-ṯaʿlab,* ***ta*** *qā hū aṯ-ṯaʿlab makkār . . .*
< la-nuit / la-deuxième / ce / le-renard / FOC / déjà / il / le-renard / rusé >
'Le lendemain soir, ce renard . . . c'est que vraiment lui, le renard était rusé . . .'

L'analyse discursive montre comment un procédé, au départ syntaxique, comme la focalisation, peut s'inscrire, sur un autre plan, dans des procédures de stratégie du discours, à tel point que les règles syntaxiques sont insuffisantes pour décrire les relations entre les unités du discours. Si dans l'ex. (19), le pronom cataphorique *hū* se réfère bien au sujet syntaxique de l'énoncé, faisant clairement de *ta* une marque de focalisation du sujet, tel n'est pas le cas du pronom *reḥna* dans l'ex. (18). Celui-ci renvoie en effet seulement à l'élément pronominal à valeur possessive du syntagme nominal sujet (le *-na* 'nos' de *sālef-na* 'nos coutumes'), pronom qui relève de la relation entre déterminant et déterminé au niveau du syntagme et non de la relation prédicative.

6. *Conclusion*

A partir de la valeur première de déictique de la particule *ta*, l'arabe de Yafiʿ a développé et grammaticalisé d'autres fonctions qui, toutes, ont en commun de mettre en jeu la désignation et la singularisation d'un constituant de l'énoncé. C'est cette propriété qui constitue l'invariant sémantique qui les unit. La polyfonctionalité du morphème, quant à elle, est liée à plusieurs facteurs qui relèvent de différents niveaux d'analyse. Si le niveau syntaxique est suffisant pour différencier les fonctions d'adjectif démonstratif et de copule, et celles de présentatif et de copule, la différence entre présentatif et focalisateur ne peut se comprendre que si l'on fait aussi appel à l'analyse sémantique et discursive en considérant l'ensemble du contexte dans lequel les énoncés sont inscrits. L'étude de *ta*, comme de toute particule énonciative, met donc en jeu plusieurs niveaux d'analyse qu'il est important de ne jamais confondre si l'on veut comprendre les mécanismes qui président à la construction du sens.

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PIDGINIZATION AND CREOLIZATION REVISITED: THE CASE OF ARABIC*

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1. *Introduction: Language learning processes*

When people speaking different languages meet, they have to find a way to achieve communication. Since the average situation of contact does not provide for any kind of formal teaching in classrooms, with textbooks and language laboratories, linguistic communication has to be achieved in an improvised manner. Usually one language is chosen for this purpose, but it is used in a simplified way by its native speakers, while the other party makes its own adjustments. Such accommodation processes have taken place in all linguistic communities, and there is abundant evidence of the effects they have on the structure of the language that is being used: reduction of categories, restructuring, simplification.

When people using a simplified register as their principal means of communication intermarry, their children tend to receive an impoverished input from their parents. In the absence of a strong monitor, they start to restructure the language according to their native language learning abilities, in the process grammaticalizing the input and imposing fixed rules on the existing variation. They become, in effect, native speakers of a new language.

Of course, the native speakers of the original language continue to speak their language according to their native competence. In many cases they have a privileged social position, so that their way

* It is perhaps not entirely appropriate to use a contribution to a Festschrift for an extensive discussion of one's own theory and its reception. From my many discussions with Manfred Woidich I know, however, that he is deeply interested in the question of the origin of the Arabic dialects. Strangely enough, through all these discussions I have never been able to figure out what exactly he thought about my ideas, which no doubt were much too speculative to his taste. I look forward to many more heated discussions with him on this topic, for which the present article will hopefully provide new fuel.

of speaking the language becomes socially desirable. As a result, the new speakers are tempted to modify their different realization of the language and will accommodate to this prestigious way of speaking.

In 1984 I suggested that the above scenario might be applicable not only to the history of such languages as Sanskrit, Latin or Greek, but also to that of Arabic. During the 7th century Arabic was introduced into the territories conquered by the Arab armies, and within a very short period of time the inhabitants of this immense area adopted it as their new language. I proposed that because of this language learning process a number of changes was triggered that resulted in the emergence of a new type of Arabic. Several authors have pointed out that there is a certain resemblance with Fück's (1950) notion of an Arabic *Verkehrssprache* and with Ferguson's (1959) *military koine* (Anghelescu 1986:168; Drozdík 2000), although it is doubtful that Ferguson himself would have agreed with this view (cf. Ferguson 1989).

According to the model I proposed, the inhabitants of the conquered territories in Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and North Africa at first learned a make-shift variety of Arabic. In mixed marriages, the children started to nativize this variety. At a later stage, the new variety was affected by the standardized form of the target language, the language of the native speakers of Arabic. In the linguistic literature the second language learning process described here is called 'pidginization', the native acquisition of such a pidginized variety is called 'creolization', and the process of influence from the standard language is called 'decreolization'. Such processes have taken place in all languages, they are a necessary and normal corollary of any second language learning that does not take place in the classroom, and of any first language learning that takes place without a fully competent monitor.

2. *Status of the scenario*

It is important to emphasize here that the model proposed is a scenario of what may have taken place, a possible explanation for known phenomena, or as Heath (1986) puts it, a "thought experiment". For some reviewers (al-Tarouti 1987:121) this means that its explanatory value is minimal. Since the model maintains that many of the changes brought about by the language learning process were eventually can-

celled by a later process of decreolization, the structure of the modern dialects cannot be used as a counterargument: if dialects contain structures that are similar to the Classical language, such as the distinction between a prefix and a suffix conjugation, this is precisely what the model would predict.

Comrie (1985) notes that this hypothesis of three successive stages of pidginization, creolization and decreolization (PCD) is programmatic (along the same lines Kaye 1985:217). Evidence from the peripheral dialects or contemporary Arabic creoles may provide some arguments, but it is difficult to actually test the thesis. This is not to say, however, that it is epistemologically impossible to find arguments for the hypothesis. We can determine under which conditions a process of PCD can take place and then look at the historical circumstances of the first centuries of Islam to see whether they allow or exclude the possibility of this scenario.

In short, what we can do is demonstrate that the scenario is a plausible one, that it may have taken place. I believe that a comparison with the development of Juba Arabic in the southern Sudan corroborates the plausibility of the scenario as proposed for Arabic. As I have attempted to show elsewhere (Versteegh 1993), this recent case of language change shows how the scenario of PCD could work. During the military campaigns in the southern Sudan in the 19th century a pidginized variety of Arabic was used by the recruits in the army camps as well as by the multilingual population in the southern Sudan, for whom this variety of Arabic served as a *lingua franca*. After the independence of the Sudan the Arabic pidgin remained in use under the name of Juba Arabic. In the cities of the southern Sudan, wherever mixed marriages took place between heterolingual people, the children acquired the pidginized variety and creolized it. We do not know exactly for how many people this Arabic creole has become a native language, but we do know that in the capital of Juba there are such speakers.

The changes exhibited by Juba Arabic are much more drastic than those exhibited by 'normal' Arabic dialects: at first sight, Juba Arabic can hardly be recognized as a variety of Arabic. In itself, the structure of the creolized variety cannot prove the correctness of the model (as Comrie 1985 notes). In recent times, however, the native speakers of the Juba Arabic creole have been undergoing the pervasive influence of Standard Arabic and the Arabic of Khartoum. Mahmud (1979) demonstrates the decreolizing effect of this influence

on their language. One specific example he gives is that of the personal prefixes of the verb in the Arabic of Khartoum. At first, these are borrowed and analyzed as aspectual particles, but later, people start using them as person markers so that they correlate with the subject of the verb. In this respect, Juba Arabic is developing towards a 'normal' Arabic dialect, with a distinction between a prefix and a suffix conjugation.

I am not positing here that the development predicted here will be realized in full. On the basis of the socio-political situation C. Miller (1993, 1994) expresses some doubts about this. Nor do I assert that the example of the Arabic creoles and the decreolization in the Sudan proves that the scenario of PCD has actually occurred in the emergence of the Arabic dialects. The only thing that this development shows is that it is a possible scenario and that the outcome of such a scenario can become virtually indistinguishable from 'ordinary' Arabic dialects.

In what follows I shall first discuss the main counterarguments that have been advanced against the PCD model in the reviews (for a survey of theories on the emergence of the dialects see A. Miller 1986): the nature of the input in the language learning process (section 3); the nature of the social interaction in the first centuries (section 4); the influence of the standard language and the role of the Bedouin migrations (section 5); and the structure of the contemporary dialects, especially those of the Arabian peninsula (section 6). Finally, I shall present my conclusions about the arguments brought forward (section 7).

3. *Counterargument I: The input*

One of the issues touched upon in almost all reviews concerns the question of whether or not the *ʿarabiyya* of the pre-Islamic period served as input for the formation of the dialects. In the original publication I had stated (1984:1–14) that I agree with Blau (1977) concerning the absence of diglossia in the pre-Islamic period. There were certainly differences between the tribal dialects (the so-called *luġāt*) and these were duly registered by the Arab grammarians, but there was no structural difference between the Bedouin vernacular and the language of the *Qurʾān* and pre-Islamic poetry. This view was criticized by some of the reviewers, who maintained that the

language of the *Qurʾān* and poetry was a frozen, formal language, and that the vernacular dialects of the Arabs were typologically different from this variety.

Holes (1986:219), for instance, states that comparative study on the poetry of the Todas in India and on the Homeric epic has shown that language used in (oral) poetry often differs from the vernacular of the poet. A contemporary case is that of the Shiʿi poets of Bahrain who use a Bedouin-type of language in their poetry. In his view, the *ʿarabiyya* may once have been someone's native tongue, but through the "ineluctable processes of change which affect all languages" it has turned into a different vernacular while the original language survived in poetic registers. A similar argument is advanced by Carter (1986).

If the *ʿarabiyya* was indeed a poetic language, it cannot have served as the input for the modern dialects, whose source must then be sought in the pre-Islamic vernaculars instead. Yet, this argument fails to explain the absence of syntactic restructuring in the pre-Islamic dialects and does not take into account the survival of the Bedouin *ʿarabiyya* during the first four centuries of Islam. Whatever the form in which the language was presented to the new learners, its transformation in the course of the language learning process is indisputed.

It seems to me that underlying the controversy about the input is a tendency not to accept discontinuities in the history of the Arabic language. Many researchers do not accept that there was a sharp break in transmission between the Arabic of the pre-Islamic period and the later dialects. Since the modern dialects differ from the Classical type of Arabic, so the argument goes, the vernacular of the Arab tribes cannot have been identical with that type of language and must have contained the roots of the later changes in the form of latent tendencies. This line of reasoning leads to two tendencies in the treatment of the material. On the one hand, it downplays the structural differences between contemporary dialects and *fuṣḥā* by stressing their basic identity. On the other hand, it overinterprets the evidence about differences between the pre-Islamic dialects, which are seen as forerunners of the changes in the New Arabic dialects.

Fischer (1995), for instance, regards the following traits in the pre-Islamic dialects as evidence of the identity of Old and New Arabic: increased congruence between verb and subject, introduction of auxiliary verbs, expansion of asyndetic hypotaxis, word order SVO. These are all seen by him as "bruchlose Weiterentwicklungen altarabischer Strukturen". Even the constructions with a genitive exponent

and the periphrastic interrogative pronouns were already functional in Proto-New Arabic, as he calls it. In the case of the genitive exponent, its coexistence with the Classical genitive construction in the modern dialects proves for him that it cannot have been a pidginizing trait. In the case of the periphrastic interrogatives, the fact that we can reconstruct a Proto-New Arabic form such as **ʾay-šayʾin*, shows for him that it is unnecessary to assume any pidginization process. These and similar arguments are based on a lexical reconstruction and ignore the structural differences between standard Arabic and New Arabic.

Much of the discussion about latent tendencies in pre-Islamic Arabic focuses on the alleged loss of the case-endings during that period. According to Carter (1986) it would be disastrous for the pidginization theory if it could be proven that the loss of the case-endings had already started in the pre-Islamic period. Apart from the fact that this is not true—after all, English has lost its case-endings a long time ago, which did not prevent it from being pidginized all over the world—the loss of case-endings in the pre-Islamic dialects is far from proven. After having examined case-forms in the Nabataean inscriptions Diem (1991:306) concludes that the Arabic material in these inscriptions does not provide decisive evidence for the loss of the case-system before Islam. He also suggests that such phenomena as the loss of case-endings may have occurred in peripheral dialects outside the Arabian peninsula, in those areas where Arabs had established contacts with people speaking other languages. This is a point I had completely neglected in my original thesis. Since it may well be the case that before the spread of Islam in Palmyra, Syria, the Sinai, new varieties of Arabic were developed by people who had learned it as a second language (cf. Fischer 1995:77), some of the innovations in these areas may have affected the later development of Arabic (Niehoff-Panagiotidis 1994:567, n. 75, point 4, 542, n. 24).

Yet, it should be stressed here again that no pre-Islamic dialect, whether in the core area or in the periphery, exhibits any traces of such New Arabic traits as the analytical genitive or the aspectual markers. It is true that some of the material on the pre-Islamic dialects mentions phenomena of reduction and analogous change, but these mostly concern minor points of morphology (cf. Rabin 1951).

4. *Counterargument II: The social context of arabization*

The second counterargument concerns the social situation in the conquered territories, which according to many of the critics was not conducive to the kind of process that is found in the classic cases of pidginization. The truth is that we do not know very much about the demographic circumstances in this early period. The hypothesis of pidginization takes for granted that the Arabs formed a minority in all the areas they conquered. According to Sharkawi (p.c.), however, the Arabs did not constitute a minority within the garrisons, which is where the language learning process took place in the first period. In his view, the language learning process took at the very least fifty years from the beginning of the conquest. The garrisons were constantly expanding and replenished by fresh migrants from the peninsula. According to Sharkawi, within these communities a group of bilinguals emerged from those members of the indigenous population who were in constant contact with the conquerors. The changes in the language spoken by the new speakers are attributed by him to the effect of the foreigner talk with which the conquerors addressed the indigenous population.

In a somewhat similar vein, Holes (1995:19–24; cf. 1986) concludes that learning Arabic was just a matter of second language acquisition: at first, there was a small class of bilingual interpreters and then gradually, the rest of the population learned perfect Arabic, since the local townsmen "would have set about learning to speak Arabic back to Arabs as it was spoken to them". He concludes that the social context of the early conquests was different from the one usually associated with pidginization/creolization.

There seems to be some kind of consensus among the critics that during the early contacts between Arabs and inhabitants of the conquered territories the process of language learning was informal, so that interlanguage phenomena occurred. Fischer (1995:76) states that perhaps "im Übergang vom Alt- zum Neuarabischen vereinzelt für Kreolsprachen typische Tendenzen zu beobachten [sind]". Heath (1986) accepts untutored Arabic as one of the processes affecting the dialects and steering them into a certain direction. What they do not agree with is that this interlanguage affected later stages of the language.

Al-ʿAǧamī (1997:396–397, 402) opposes any idea of creolization because, as he puts it, in each region there was only one language

interacting with the language of the invaders. Therefore, the inhabitants of these regions had a chance to become true bilinguals in the course of time and did not have to abandon their own language immediately and substitute it with any pidginized variety. The same argument based on the linguistic homogeneity of the community is advanced against the pidginization model by Owens (1989) and Tosco (1991:102–103). What all these reactions have in common is that they distinguish sharply between 'natural' second language learning, in which people become true bilinguals, and pidginization, which leads to drastic changes. It might be preferable to regard these processes as a difference in degree rather than in essence.

5. *Counterargument III: The influence of Classical Arabic*

Many critics have maintained that no process of classicization can explain the full extent of decreolization that the PCD model posits. Holes (1986) states that levelling cannot explain the large difference between modern Arabic pidgins/creoles and the mainstream dialects. Influence from the standard language, whether written or spoken, could never have been very strong because the vast majority of the people were (and are) illiterate, so that they were "virtually unexposed to the source of the decreolizing influence" (1986:220). He concludes that the similarities between the modern dialects must stem from the input, which was not the *ʿarabiyya*, but "a range of slightly different geographical/tribal dialects which shared certain typological similarities in opposition to the *ʿarabiyya*" (1986:221). He believes it is much more probable that the developments in the modern dialects are the product of later migrations from the Arab heartland which "had the effect, long term, of maintaining an acrolectal 'dialectal standard', which effectively decreolized the earlier dialect-based creoles". The same point is made by Heath (1986).

It is true that the argumentation of the PCD model rests on the possibility of levelling. Several authors (al-ʿAǧamī 1997:403; Niehoff-Panagiotidis 1994:567, n. 75, point 7) point out that the schooling system in the early centuries of Islam was incapable of affecting the language of the lower strata of the population. In the original version of the theory I had only taken into account the influence of the standard language and underestimated the influence of the later Bedouin migrations (cf. Versteegh 1997:112). These Bedouin may

have provided a native target on a larger scale than the original invasion. Still, influence of the standard language should not be ruled out completely: in the modern Arab world, the majority of the speakers are still illiterate and yet, they produce a host of classicizing elements (cf. Palva 1969). It is not true as Niehoff-Panagiotidis (1994:567, n. 75, point 7) seems to claim, that this classicizing influence is manifested only in phonetic interference and the presence of Classical loanwords. On the contrary, interference from Standard Arabic is found at all levels, so that even hybrid forms such as *b-tuktab* 'it is written' with Standard passive and dialect aspect marker are heard. No doubt the media are to a large degree responsible for this contemporary classicizing influence, but even in earlier times spoken versions of Classical Arabic were available, for instance in the mosques.

6. *Counterargument IV: The present-day dialects*

In more or less all of the reviews the point is made that the present-day dialects do not 'look like pidgins or creoles', not even if one takes into account the possible effect of decreolization processes. Heath (1986) states that dialectal areas such as Iraq and Morocco "show few vestiges of radical reshaping of stem forms, lexical meanings, etc., which we would expect in real pidgins and creoles". Hopkins (1988) argues that Bedouin dialects of the Arabian peninsula and dialects elsewhere are typologically similar, which according to him means that pidginization cannot explain their emergence. The same point is made by Troupeau (1987).

It is true that in many respects the Bedouin dialects are typologically similar to sedentary dialects. Even the dialects spoken in the Arabian peninsula are clearly representatives of New Arabic, not some kind of vestige from the pre-Islamic dialects. Just like Bedouin dialects outside the peninsula they were affected by the urban dialects that had emerged after the coming of Islam.

Yet, there are two points to be made here. In the first place, the Bedouin dialects did not go through the same development in time as the other dialects. According to the testimony of the Arab grammarians, some Bedouin continued to use an old type of Arabic at least for the first three or four centuries of Islam. Grammarians such as Ibn Ǧinnī (d. 1002) and historians such as Ibn Xaldūn (d. 1406) describe the process by which the Bedouin started to take over urban

varieties of speech, so that their language became 'corrupted'. This means that even if the Bedouin dialects were not affected by the first wave of changes in the newly conquered territories, they were still affected by the contact with sedentary prestige dialects in later centuries. In other words, it is not surprising that they exhibit the same 'pidginizing' traits as the sedentary dialects and the presence of these elements cannot be adduced as evidence against the pidginization scenario, as al-ʿAǧamī (1997:405ff.) does.

The second point is that even though the modern Bedouin dialects typologically belong to New Arabic, they still remain conservative in some respects. Especially the Bedouin dialects of the Arabian peninsula preserve a number of traits that were lost in the sedentary dialects, for instance, the lesser frequency of genitive exponents, the use of the internal passive, the use of the nunation (albeit for a different function), and the productive causative (see e.g. Ingham 1994).

7. *Conclusion*

In the preceding discussion I have indicated some points in which I modified my views on the basis of what I learned from the reviews: the possibility of change in peripheral varieties of Arabic in the pre-Islamic period; the importance of the later Bedouin migrations; and the need to take into account the role of foreigner talk by the Arabs.

Some of the objections in the reviews, however, are more difficult to accept. Most of these have to do with the use of written evidence. The opposition to the idea of pidginization is based on a reconstruction of the history of Arabic as it transpires from the documents written in that language. If one surveys the written products of Arabic through the centuries a picture of gradual change seems to emerge. Dialectal traits such as the use of the genitive exponent or the use of aspectual particles with the imperfect verb are rarely found before the 18th or 19th century. This leads to the mistaken view that the vernacular language itself has changed gradually. Holes (1995:21), for instance, refers to "the long and gradual evolution towards the present dialectal situation". In my view, this gradual change is nothing but an artefact of the material (cf. Versteegh 2002), which only reflects the attitude towards the written standard and cannot be taken as a reflection of the vernacular.

According to some scholars, there is one category of written materials that does not reflect the written standard, namely the language of the papyri. According to this view, the papyri were written at a time when there was as yet no prescriptive grammar (Holes 1995:20). The value of this argument depends on whether or not there was a socially accepted standard for writing. The presence of a body of prescriptive grammar is not a necessary condition, however, because even before the codification of the language in the middle of the second century of Islam there may very well have existed a different kind of target, such as the epistolary style developed in the chancellery. Holes (1995:20) indicates that the papyri may have been written in "a somewhat more formal style", which after all presupposes some kind of standard.

In this connection, it should be emphasized that the comparison with Middle Arabic (e.g., in Hopkins' 1998 reference to the mainstream of Middle Arabic) is not entirely appropriate. Middle Arabic was not a discrete variety with a development and a structure of its own and it can certainly not be equated with the colloquial language of the time. As Blau (1982; cf. also 2000) explains, it is better to use the term of 'Middle Arabic' for a category of texts, namely those containing deviations from the norm of Classical Arabic. Such deviations may consist in colloquialisms, but also in hypercorrections. There never was a discrete linguistic variety, Middle Arabic.

The material in the Middle Arabic texts is therefore unsuitable for the diachronic reconstruction of Arabic. It shows some of the dialectal variation, and in this sense it may be used for comparative purposes, but it cannot show the chronological development in language use. This even applies to the argument brought forward by Ferguson (1989) about the development of agreement in the modern dialects. He states that the agreement of dual nouns with plural verbs in modern dialects cannot be explained by decreolization, since it is not a change in the direction of Standard Arabic. According to him, this must therefore count as an internal development, which shows that the transmission of the language was a normal one rather than a break. Likewise, in some of the rural dialects one finds with increasing frequency deflected agreement, i.e., singular verbs with plural nouns. This, too, is regarded by him as a development in a direction opposite to the one predicted by decreolization (cf. Belnap 1993:115–116). The main objection to this line of reasoning is that

the data from Middle Arabic are simply inconclusive and present a distortion of the real development just like any other written source. There is, therefore, absolutely no guarantee that the observed agreement facts have no analogue with earlier developments in the vernacular language.

A second point I find difficult to accept concerns the basic identity between Classical language and modern dialects, and in general, the use of the notion of 'drift' as a force operating in all Semitic languages. Retsö (2000:127) argues that the pre-Islamic dialects may have belonged to a different type of Semitic than the Classical *ʿarabiyya* and that the so-called innovations in the modern dialects are not innovations at all but go back to an old type of Semitic. In this view, Classical Arabic is an innovating language whereas the colloquial dialects represent an archaic type of Semitic. Typological parallels between colloquial dialects and older Semitic languages are advanced as evidence for this view, which presupposes a linguistic continuity of many centuries and yet offers no explanation for those structural developments in the New Arabic type that are completely absent in the pre-Islamic period. In line with this view it is sometimes argued that the disappearance of the case endings in Arabic can be explained by the fact that it is a phenomenon found in all Semitic languages (cf. Fischer 1995). I find this argument difficult to accept because invoking a general drift does not provide an explanation of the occurrence of a phenomenon in a concrete case.

During a recent colloquium at the American University of Cairo (March 2001) a discussion took place between Catherine Miller, Muhammad Sharkawi and myself, in which some of the points mentioned in this article were clarified. Our main conclusion was that the modern dialects originated in a context of second language learning. In such a process changes occur, and it depends on non-linguistic factors to what degree these changes are implemented and become part of a new speech variety. Pidginized varieties differ only in degree from other types of contact languages, and it is difficult or perhaps even useless to try and categorize them as fixed points on a scale.

This view represents a major step forward, since it breaks away from current thinking about latent tendencies or drifts, comparable to those taking place in other Semitic languages. In the end, such thinking turns the changes into some kind of natural force that is

not in need of any further explanation. The emphasis on processes of language learning, however, determines the locus of the change and enables us to discuss the demographic and other non-linguistic data that provide the proper context. In this line of thinking the emphasis is on externally motivated rather than internally motivated linguistic change (cf. Thomason & Kaufman 1988). Such externally motivated changes are contact-induced and result from the interaction between speakers of different languages. Pidginization is not the only possible outcome of such interactions. In fact, one might say that there is a continuum of contact-situations which have one thing in common: their effect on the structure of the language that is being learnt by new speakers.

Obviously, the results are different in situations where there are only two languages interacting as compared to multilingual situations. Heath (1986) compares the situation in the incipient Islamic empire to that in North Africa with its French/Arabic bilingualism and concludes that the acquisition of Arabic was just a case of foreign language learning. And in the same vein Holes (1995:19–24) states that foreign language learning is the determining factor and he compares it with English as spoken in India. They are right of course in that there are always individuals who manage to get a good command of the language and who may influence others. But for the majority of foreign language learners in any situation of language learning this goal is unattainable. In their approximation of the language learnt there is always a modification of the original structure.

Therefore, rather than focusing on the precise term to be used for such interactions the important thing is to realize that second language learning always affects the linguistic structure. What remains to be done is a much more detailed and fine-grained analysis of the demographic, cultural and social circumstances of the early period of arabization. Only such an analysis can provide us with arguments about the nature of the interaction between the original and the new speakers of Arabic. The announced study by Behnstedt & Woidich about the arabization of Egypt will no doubt turn out to be an important step towards this goal.

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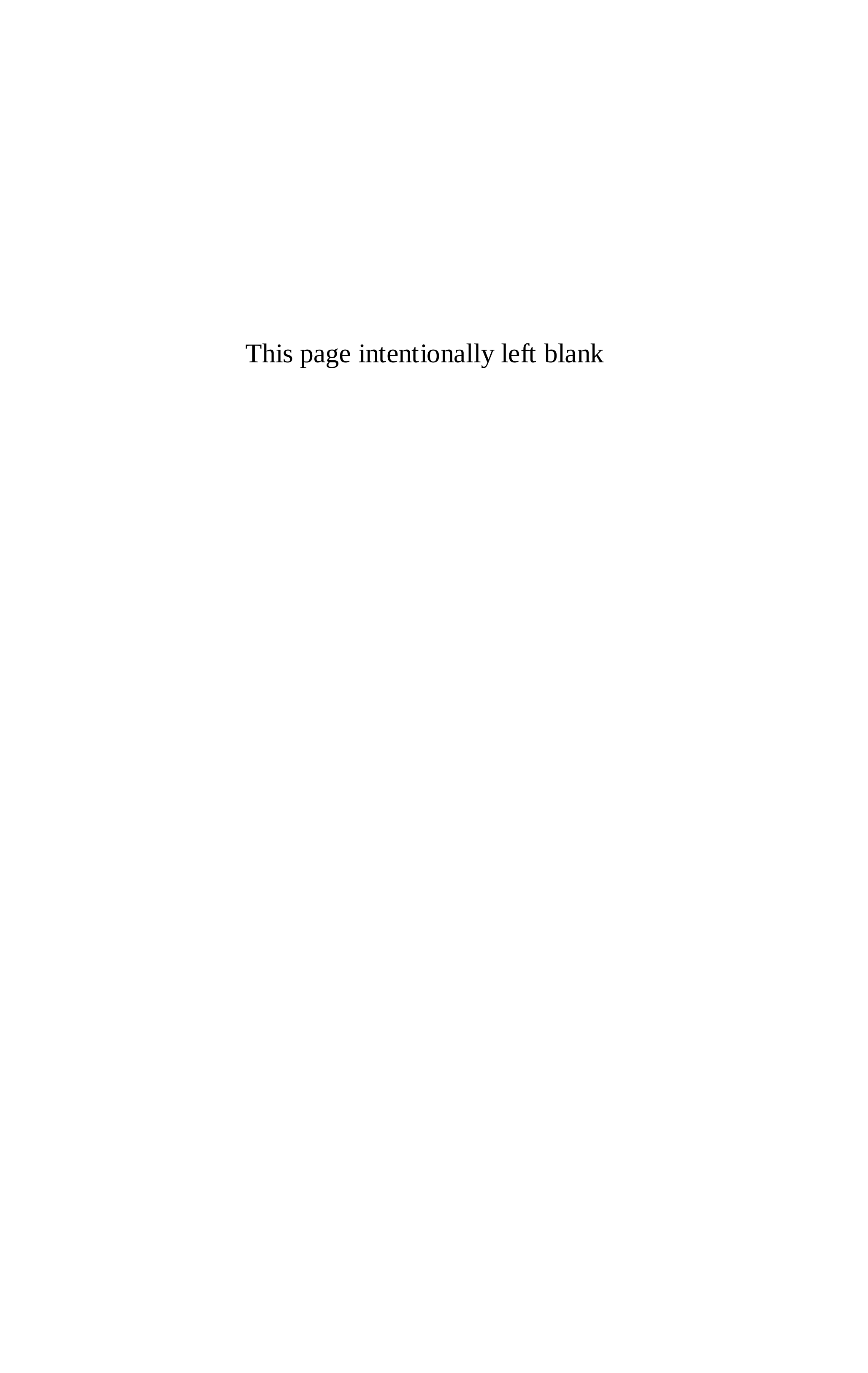
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IS THERE AN ORIENTALIST LINGUISTICS?

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1. *Introduction*

In the history of the long, eventful, and sometimes antagonistic relationships between Eastern and Western modes of thinking[1] and of physical contact in general, language has invariably been considered as the right 'path to the soul' of the protagonist. As they provide the most direct access to the 'Other's' modes of thinking and behaving, languages were, therefore, among the first 'civilisational' institutions to have been scrutinised for clues and/or for the sheer establishment of the facts about the 'Other'. The Western modes of cultural production, it is true, have been in the forefront of the 'world strife' and in the underlying scramble for the material goods (whether foods or other precious wealth-generating materials). In the process, this should be stressed, Western scholarship developed research tools and means of propagation of knowledge never equalled before in the history of humanity. As part of those tools, the linguistic studies carried out by Western scholars (the so-called Orientalists) have been regarded as the source of some of the instruments for the domination of the peoples of the East,[2] and eventually as instruments for world supremacy.

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[1] An earlier version of this paper was read in Arabic at the Conference, "Orientalist Studies: Facts and Perspectives", organised by the *Moroccan Association for Oriental Studies,* at the Faculty of Letters, Mohamed V University, Rabat, April 18–19, 1994. One cannot therefore be accused of hopping onto the 'band wagon' of the debate that has been pushed to the forefront of world politics by the topical events of the year 2001 round the spurious concept of the 'Clash of Civilisations'.

[2] As Western 'civilisation' has achieved supremacy in the strife between the nations, Western scholarship, on the whole, has been held in suspicion by the very elites that did not hesitate otherwise to adopt substantial chunks of the scientific and technical components of Western origin. However, what seemed contradictory on the surface was actually part of the dialectic moves to resolve the contradictions.

All of these aspects are well known for having been substantially documented, including in the research carried out by 'Oriental' scholars. Even today, one can still hear and read vehement, nationalistic criticism, often resulting in the denunciation of the 'hidden intentions' and the rejection of this type of scholarship among the educated members of the Arabic-speaking communities. Yet, beyond the obviously utilitarian aspect of the knowledge amassed in the West about the other communities through the study of their languages (and in a clearly dialectic relation to these languages) there remain those elements of the 'war booty' (to stretch a little further Kateb Yacine's metaphor), i.e., the precious legacy of the intellectual achievements and the underlying means devised in terms of the intelligence and the skills employed in their elaboration.[3]

In this respect, it can be said, for example, that between the date of the compilation of the inaugural grammar and lexicon of Arabic by the Spaniard de Alcalá (1505), or by the Italian Jorga (14th/15th century, see Cifoletty 2002:81), on the one hand, and the contemporary research 'ventures' by swarms of often enthusiastic—in many cases gifted, and on the whole respectful—young scholars from various universities in the Western World, on the other hand, 'Orientalist linguists' have contributed—even when they did not altogether initiate—innovative ways and means for the study of the socio-cultural facts about the peoples of the Orient. Furthermore, as one can easily observe in various constituents of the socio-cultural makeup of 'Oriental' communities both past and present, the effects of these contacts have stimulated the research activity in Eastern academic circles for the last two centuries.

While questioning the relevance of some of the aspects of the current criticism of Orientalism today, this paper aims to (re-)evaluate the salient features of the dialectic relation resulting from the contact between the long chain of Western scholars and Western erudition with the legacy of Oriental scholarship and Eastern tradition in general. Basing our argumentation on the assessment of the work produced within some of the main research trends and philosophical frameworks of the last five centuries or so in terms of content, lan-

[3] Naturally enough, one cannot help wondering about the question of objective scholarship and the extent to which one may neutralise the most subjective ideological implications in order to contribute to a serene debate on the subject.

guages in which the studies were carried out, as well as their aims and functions, this paper attempts to describe some of the characteristics (and to question the relevance of a few facets) of this research, and its significance for 'Orientalist' research today.

2. *The relevance of 'Orientalism' to contemporary scholarship*

I am fully aware that part of the ideas summed up in this presentation may go against some of the views current in Arab and Islamic academic circles concerning the role of Orientalism today. We should like to ask for understanding in the motives underlying this somewhat novel treatment of the conventional conception of the East/West relationship, somehow presented from an 'insider's' point of view. More prestigious and far more competent researchers have investigated the far-reaching ramifications and the impact of Orientalism in the relations between Eastern and Western civilisations. The epoch-making works of Said (1978), the brilliant work of Laroui (1977), Abdel Malek (1963), to name only these three, have discussed at great length the ideological and epistemological biases. As for my own purpose, I wish to point out, first, that the ideas discussed here—being far more restricted in scope and methodology than those treated in the more renowned research about Orientalism—are inspired mostly by concern with the linguistic preoccupations of Orientalism and occasionally with the attention given to oral literature.

The special status enjoyed by what one may consider globally to be the communication disciplines *par excellence* may have been due to the concrete character of the domains of language and literature, more so perhaps than philosophical or more dialectic approaches. But it may also have been due to the more readily perceptible artistic and creative nature of the subject matters of these disciplines, which were consequently handled in innovative ways in Orientalist research. It is nonetheless a fact that linguistics, as one of the components of Orientalist scholarship, has displayed substantial differences, both in methodology and tone, so as to constitute an easy target for the usual anti-Orientalist discourse as applied, say, to the so-called Orientalist anthropology, history, philosophy, etc.

The study of the social sciences has shifted from the apologetic (if not the openly Euro-centred) discourse of the colonial enterprise to the diametrically opposed denunciation and global rejection by

the nationalist detractors of the colonial domination during the last two centuries. There is no denying that the 'reductionist' or altogether negativist discourse to be found in some of the Western scholarship of previous centuries finds very little or no echo in contemporary research. The virulent denunciation of the skewed imperialist views propagated in the Orientalist, intellectual production, therefore, may often prove pointless.[4] This aspect of the question of Orientalism, therefore, will not be tackled in what follows. For one thing, one may legitimately wonder whether, about half a century after the end of the colonial domination, anti-Orientalism (which had initially been thought-out as a scheme to fight colonial ideology and political domination) is still relevant today. For another thing, one may justifiably argue against the validity of the term itself and its connotations.

At the outset, even if only sketchily and with full awareness of the risk I am running in trying to expose such serious matters within the limits of an homage contribution, I should like to advance the following theses. The first concerns the very relevance, today, of the criticism addressed to Orientalism, and the potential, intellectual benefits to be expected from any investigation of the Orientalist biases and ideological motives. Those benefits, of course, go beyond the relatively limited interests for the history of ideas as vestiges of the past struggle for power in the world. The criticism levelled at Orientalism developed as one among the many other outcomes of this dialectic struggle for supremacy, and as a response to the Western views about the Orient. The question is, how relevant or founded are *a priori* suspicions about Western research today?

Related to the above is a second thesis, to the effect that Orientalism may be, after all, a concept that, essentially, has been given substance by the Arab-Islamic scholars, and by their allies among the opponents of colonial domination in general. Thus, the very concept of Orientalism itself can be said to have come about as a result of the criticism levelled at certain aspects of Western scholarship

[4] Beyond the effort or attempt to understand the historical and/or intellectual implications in many writings on the subject, one is sometimes amazed at the vehement, and in fact pointless criticism leveled at scientists of previous centuries. Notwithstanding the understandable desire to correct serious misconceptions, that criticism is sometimes ill-directed; see, for instance, the discussion of Silvestre de Sacy's or Renan's work in Said (1978:123ff), or the discussion of Grunebaum's ideas about Islam by Laroui (1977:30).

about the Eastern societies. In a way, Orientalism may be said to have begun as an immediate response to the Western views about the Orient, or more precisely after the 'Oriental' scholars became aware of the features in the now over two millennia old, painted frescoe (for instance, in Herodotus's accounts about the Barbarian Orient). It may be argued that Orientalism has no reality or institutional existence as the sectarian brotherhood or 'freemasonry' it is often made out to be.

The third thesis, more importantly perhaps than the first or the second one, relates to the fact that if in its picture of the Orient (somehow 'stealthily' achieved), Orientalism seems to have concentrated on—and perhaps even intentionally misrepresented or twisted—important aspects of some of the Oriental's features, this could not serve as a justification for the total rejection of that production. In the end, no serious student of Western scholarship about the Orient would do so. This Orientalism[5] has, in the course of the 20th century, gradually shifted to the domain of the media and art. In other words, the negative picture is not where the finger is pointed, viz., not in the places of academic learning and scholarship in general.

A fourth thesis—provided that the three theses above are approached with a 'nuanced' interpretation and dialectic perception—should assume that the concept of Orientalism is at best a useless one, and at worst a dangerous amalgamation of too many things, as it perpetuates the errors which anti-Orientalism had set out to denounce. Orientalism is a useless concept because the studies grouped under the heading of Orientalism are extremely varied in terms of the nature of the domains covered and the scopes projected. It may be a dangerous concept because the manner in which it has interpreted the facts of Western thinking and analysing the Orient has tended, so far, to give the impression—and thank God it has been an impression only—of 'throwing away the baby with the dirty water', that is to say, of throwing away the 'linguistic baby' with the dirty water of the strategy-elaborating knowledge, which could have been employed to exercise power and to perpetuate colonial and/or imperialist domination.[6] What of resources like the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, for example,

[5] Actually the label points mostly to the Arabic (and Islamic) socio-cultural legacy as well as to their contemporaneous realities.

[6] One recalls the tempestuous move in virtually all of North Africa back in the

or the innumerable treasures amassed in the books and periodicals that added up to the knowledge originating in the East or that gave it a new impetus for renewed interpretation? The question, therefore, is that of accurately determining the role and impact of linguistic research within the larger field of Western scholarship about the Orient.

3. *Linguistics in Orientalism*

3.1 *The question of the Classical language versus the dialects*

The interest that the Western scholars (and the administration of the colonial powers in general) showed in the dialects and the study of oral traditions and folklore could only render this scholarship highly suspicious in the eyes of the natives. Very early in the contact with these Orientalists, Arab activist nationalists stigmatised all interest in the particularistic, popular culture, which in their eyes was equated with manifest decadence. Even Western study of the classical Arabic authors was often derisively ruled out as being incapable of accessing the linguistic subtleties and the wealth of 'significations' expressed in the classical language, which only a few gifted natives could achieve. As nationalist slogans, all this could be considered, in the then anti-colonial struggles, as being *de bonne guerre*, if it did not have a tendency to persist as slogans on the banners of the proponents of what may be called the 'besieged citadel mentality' or 'syndrome' (see Youssi 2001).

This short-sighted activism (or was it an ill-informed one?), somehow, has had as one its negative effects to force many an 'Oriental', i.e. many a native social scientist to carry out work of this nature quasi clandestinely within the language departments of the Arab and Islamic universities, Moroccan universities included. This meant ignoring the pressing needs of literacy and keeping the study of relationships in contemporary living culture in a state of dramatic neglect.

early 1970s to introduce substantial changes in the cultural components of the syllabi of the *Lycée* programmes (particularly the philosophy syllabus in the final year of the *Lycée*). With the pretext of introducing elements from Arab-Islamic thinking, the essential components of positivist or rational thinking had been eliminated. The retrograde impact that these changes had on the education of many generations has become obvious since.

There is no denying that a realistic attitude to the constituents of the living cultures in the Arab-Islamic communities entails the study of these cultures in their own right, but it is also true that there is a close interrelationship between the living cultures of the Arabic-speaking communities and the classical component.

3.2 *An example of a realistic bibliographical evaluation*

It is probably this principle of realistic attitude towards Western scholarship that guided the work of Muhammad H. Bakalla (1975, 1983). From the very heart of the prestigious Arabian centre of learning of King Saud University, this researcher produced the first, and most exhaustive assessment of all that has been written (dissertations included) about the Arabic language and linguistics. In this first monumental bibliography, Bakalla (1983) lists 5360 titles. Presented in the most rigorous and scientific methodology of bibliotheconomy, this bibliography managed to repertory virtually all that had been written about Arabic and its dialects.

The resource is subdivided simply—on the basis of the language in which the study was carried out—into an Occidental section for studies in the European languages and an Oriental section for those in Arabic. This logical division was adopted irrespective of the national origins of the authors or the varieties of Arabic analysed. The work is, therefore, of the type of 'user-friendly', general purpose bibliography that researchers in all disciplines of Arabic, as well as students of communication in the Arabic-speaking communities can consult for a first inventory of the sources available up to the late 70s. Indexes for subject matter, authors, editors and translators, co-authors and co-editors, reviewers, as well as an index of Arab authors (who are listed in Arabic script irrespective of the language in which their studies are written), are also provided in this volume.

A bibliography with such a wide scope and with such varied ambitions, undoubtedly constitutes an invaluable, unique research instrument and, therefore, constitutes in a way the first 'birth certificate' for the new conception of linguistic erudition. It presents linguistics as being, after all, a unitary activity whose subject matter, in nature, is neither necessarily Oriental nor Occidental, being under the sole control of the most rigorously 'stated' correlations between subject matter, on the one hand, and theoretical and methodological investigation, on the other hand. One may regret that some of these subdivisions in the indexes were not carried further, for example, to

classify the material on the basis of more objective criteria such as the thematic aspects, the regional origins, the levels of linguistic analysis, and so on. Some of these objective subdivisions could also have been conceived in terms of structural-functional distinctions or oppositions sometimes discussed in the comparative studies of the dialects and the classical language. Considering the dialects alone, the indexes could have tackled the distinctions between the Eastern and the Western varieties of Arabic.[7]

3.3 *The Eastern and Western dialects of Arabic*

The main distinction between the dialects of Arabic spoken in the Middle East and those of North Africa is not just a simple intellectual commodity since it is based on both historical and structural characteristics, to say nothing about geopolitical and ideological aspirations in the region. The Berber substratum in North West Africa accounts for many of the contemporary features of Maghrebi Arabic, and for many of the elements of the sociolinguistic make up of the Maghreb. Besides, the North African communities have been challenged by the confrontation with Western culture, particularly by their contact with the French since the conquest of Algiers (1830). The latter contact has undoubtedly contributed to many of the modern(ist) features of the peoples of the Maghreb. It is only reasonable, therefore, to consider this regional entity as sufficiently self-contained to warrant separate treatment. As to the abuse to which linguistic research may be put—as indeed any kind of research in the social sciences—it may be argued that this issue is obscured by a huge misunderstanding. For one thing, scholarship, which did not create the colonial situations, cannot be held responsible for the way these situations have been resolved. The study of a natural phenomenon, whether unfortunate or happy, is irrelevant to the source of that phenomenon, nor does it intervene in its eradication. It is, unfortunately, this type of undeserved or uncalled for responsibility that has been used to label the student of the popular languages and traditions, including the native speakers, who often do not even manage to make the point that they did not create the situation they study but rather, more modestly, they assess the existing one.

[7] For a substantial discussion of these classifications and the concepts underlying them, see Youssi (2001:21–24).

4. *The state of linguistic studies in the Maghreb*

The relatively exhaustive inventory of the linguistic studies about the Western dialects of Arabic (Youssi 1989b:151–223) tries to provide synthetic and statistical clues about some of the main interests of the Western scholarship in the socio-cultural make up of the Maghreb. It is pertinent to note here that native speakers have been involved, often as co-authors, in some of those publications. Since the creation of national universities after independence, some of these native speakers continued the same scholarly traditions, adopting the same theoretical and methodological tools, which have actually become international standards of scholarship. What is more, a great number of Maghrebi scholars, who had received their training exclusively in literary Arabic in the traditional home institutions, sought post-graduate and doctorate degrees from Western universities, working under the supervision of some of the famous 'Orientalists' like Brockelmann, Cohen, Firth, Mitchell, Rodinson, Berque, Pellat, and others. When they returned home, they introduced in their turn those theories and didactic methodologies in their teaching syllabi and scholarly publications, which do not differ in any notable way from the teaching of those under whom they studied.

The presentation to follow succinctly classifies and evaluates the 1024 titles of works on the Western varieties of Arabic repertoried in this linguistic bibliography of what has been published, either in book form or in periodicals, during the past five hundred years. Unlike Bakalla, the bibliography did not consider unpublished memoirs and theses. The main aim of the bibliography was to offer an immediately practical instrument as it is meant to provide a first reference to new-comers in the domain. It attempts to give an idea about the extent of Western interests in Maghrebi societies. More particularly[8] a work of this nature will provide the new generations of Maghrebi researchers with a handy, synthetic guide to the bibliographies of linguistic research available about the domain.

The bibliographical repertories are presented, first, by country or political and/or historical entities, as these defining concepts have actually been used in the North Africanist tradition. The 1024 titles

[8] These resources are all the more useful as Europe and the US, and consequently the university libraries, have become less and less accessible even for advanced students due to the 'tightening of borders'.

were divided by dialectal variety as follows: Algerian (143), Andalucian (77), Hassaniyya (34), Maltese (55), Moroccan (363), Tunisian (217), and Maghrebi (135 titles, i.e. those studies with a synthetic nature about the area or studies that consider Maghrebi Arabic as a sort of superposed variety).

The accompanying indexes bring out some of the categorial, essential features of these bibliographies. Thus, studies about Judeo-Arabic, for example, are not repertoried separately as was done with the above regional/national varieties, but they figure among the titles of the regional or national entity of which Judeo-Arabic is part. The main reason for this choice is that Judeo-Arabic constituted neither a distinct nor a homogeneous pan-Maghrebi variety so as to warrant separate classification. Judeo-Arabic consisted of many ethnolinguistic minority sub-dialects in every one of the Western dialects of Arabic. The analytical index, therefore, provides references (1989b: 223) to the titles specifically devoted to Judeo-Arabic.

By the same token, the *Index général* (1989b:220–223), which was devised primarily to serve quick referencing purposes, provides a kind of multi-layered information about the essential aspects of linguistic research about the seven varieties of Western Arabic. This information is given in 22 inter-related rubrics, referring to both form and content or subject matter. Many rubrics cut across several entries, referring to the main focus, emphasis, and/or bias underlying each study. The conjunction of the elements of these rubrics, to be sure, is not just the result of mere coincidence. The correlation of the language in which the research was conducted (and by extension the national origin of the researchers), and the domains and/or the nature, the aims of the investigation concerned, as well as other variables, reflect the historical and political factors that determined the emergence of these studies.

One may wonder, for example, about the obvious discrepancy in the number of sources devoted to each of the main dialects of Western Arabic, among which, surprisingly enough, Moroccan Arabic (MA) is the most widely represented, followed by Tunisian Arabic (TA), leaving Algerian Arabic (AA) far behind (141 titles). These figures display an astonishing, proportionally reversed ratio when compared with the duration of the contact of each of the Maghrebi countries with Western rule. One must, however, bear in mind that Morocco and Tunisia, being only Protectorates, were not ‘taken for granted’ in the same way that Algeria was, a conquered territory that was turned first into a colony and then into a *Département d’outre-mer*.

Perhaps also, Morocco having been the last country to resist for a long time 'the scramble for Africa' was coveted by many competing European powers. Scientists and agents specialised in data collection, at the eve of the *Great War* (of which this country was actually, in part, one of the causes) were actively and competitively skimming as many socio-cultural facts as they could gather. This differs, too, from Algeria, whose native features were to be transformed with a view to its shaping in the likeness of the French patterns. The discrepancies, therefore, are not due to this researcher's 'bias' or his greater familiarity with the sources on his own mother tongue. Morocco, being the last Franco-Spanish acquisition, attracted the attention of Western scholars more than the other communities did, and this is corroborated in Bakalla's bibliographies as well as in others.

4.1 *The languages in which studies were carried out*

As a consequence of the concentrated 'international interests' in Morocco and because of the other reasons mentioned above, MA is the one domain that received maximal coverage in each of the main European languages. German, for example (particularly around the 1900's), accounts for 33 titles for MA, but only 13 for TA and 5 for AA. English offers 58 titles for MA, but only 10 for TA and 4 for AA. As for Spanish, which displays 39 titles for MA, there are no sources mentioned for either TA or AA. Andalusan[9] Arabic, however, has 18 titles.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned here that research carried out in the field of Classical Arabic, though scarce, concerned mostly the relationship between the Classical language and the dialects, including the Andalusan legacy. Some of the authors who wrote in Arabic also published in European languages; and one original study about the dialectology of Northern Morocco by an Egyptian (ʿAbd al-Munʿim ʿAbd al-ʿĀl)[10] does not seem to have received any follow-up. As a general rule, in the Maghreb, for example, the university

[9] The term *Andalusan* is perhaps more suitable for this variety of Arabic, by reference to *al-ʿAndalus*, while the term *Andalucian* could be used to refer to the geographical area of *Andalucía* and the province in general.

[10] The position of this scholar at Al-Azhar University seems to have been a unique one in the sense that not only did he have a 'leeway' to carry out research in the oral literature back in the 50s and 60s, but he also supervised the doctoral theses of many students, including Maghrebi ones like M. Bencherifa (on Andalusan proverbs), A. Jirari (on Moroccan *malḥūn* poetry), and others.

departments of Arabic, until very recently, do not seem to have been involved in dialectological research to any substantive degree.

4.2 *The focus on didactic tools*

We count as pedagogical materials all those studies whose aim it is to aid the acquisition or mastery of the target language. These materials range from strictly descriptive, academic research in phonology, grammar, lexis, and so on, to prescriptive language manuals, dictionaries and lexicons, readers and chrestomathies, anthologies of oral texts, and others. As a result of the European interest in the area, in some cases long before contact with the Maghreb actually took place, the number of these so-called material tools of the European penetration displays the same proportions in relation to each of the varieties of Western Arabic, with Morocco receiving again maximal attention. Thus, in the same proportions as above, there are 42 titles of text collections in colloquial language for MA, and 34 for TA, but only 23 for AA. The same ratios hold for the anthologies of literary texts: 54 for MA, 30 for TA and 20 for AA.

4.3 *Research with potential socio-political or 'strategic' bias*

In addition to works with immediate, practical applications, research in the field of the ethnographic, comparative, and sociolinguistic aspects of communication could also be regarded as having a directly utilitarian character, since the information that is systematically gathered and processed can serve to facilitate administrative action. By far the largest category, the indexes for ethno- and sociolinguistics indicate 131 titles for MA, 57 for TA, 33 for AA and 38 for the Maghreb.

4.4 *Research of a purely humanist or scientific nature*

However defined, this type of research refers to those works that do not necessarily or intentionally aim at 'uncovering' socio-cultural aspects of the communities concerned. This type of data—whether intended to support positive action like education and health or meant to support negative action like police or military colonial control—is rather typical of section 4.3 above. Most of the research, for example, about Classical Arabic, and some of the works in the

Table 1: Categories of publications about the Maghreb

	MA	AA	TA	MAG	HA	AND	MAL
Foreign Languages	138	29	27	53	6	55	50
Linguistic descr.	141	65	96	48	24	26	41
Anthologies & text	102	46	79	16	8	37	9
Pedag. materials	64	37	41	37	10	19	18
Diction & lexica	85	28	63	22	15	12	19
Ethn./soc. ling.	131	43	57	38	9	1	4
Science & erud.	67	31	52	14	9	34	12
TOTAL	728	279	415	228	81	184	153

domains of section 4.1 and 4.2, actually have, at least originally, a strictly scholarly character, for instance in the field of onomastics, lyrical poetry, paremiological anthologies, and others. Though these works constitute only a small proportion of research about the Western dialects of Arabic, they also display the same proportion in relation to each of the Maghrebi communities.

The table above sums up the correlations between the main aspects of the linguistic and sociolinguistic research carried out about the varieties of Western Arabic.

5. *Conclusion*

It would be somewhat difficult to conclude on a topic like the one discussed above. Be that as it may, it should have become at least obvious by now that there is no need for further discussion to disentangle the extremely complex *relata* of a very long chain of accumulated misunderstanding. It is an established fact that neither scholarship in general, nor academic research in particular, are carried out in isolation, nor are they immune from prejudices and biases of the socio-cultural environment in which this scholarship is carried out. In this paper I have sketched the main features characterising the perceptions that Arabs have had of 'Orientalism', and I have analyzed how this perception has conditioned negatively the attitudes of educated speakers of Arabic, to the extent that in some cases they

developed erroneous conceptions about whole chunks of knowledge elaborated about Oriental cultures and languages. While trying—away from simplistic ideological conceptions—to bring out the dialectic nature of academic research, whether originating in the West or elsewhere, the discussion was illustrated with materials from linguistic and language related bibliographies, which are there for the 'tapping'.

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COLLOQUIAL ARABIC IN THE 17TH CENTURY: YŪSUF AL-MAĠRIBĪ'S EGYPTIAN-ARABIC WORDLIST

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1. *Introduction*[1]

Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr ʿan kalām[2] *ʾahl Miṣr* 'Removing the Burden from the Speech of the People of Egypt', hereafter referred to as *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr*, by Yūsuf al-Maġribī (d. 1611) is an important source for the Egyptian dialect at the end of the 16th/beginning of the 17th century.[3] *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* is presented in the form of a list of Egyptian Arabic words, which al-Maġribī checked for consistency with Classical Arabic, referring mostly to al-Fīrūzābādī's *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*. As the title of *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* indicates, the motive of al-Maġribī was to prove that many dialect words which were considered to be 'incorrect' Arabic, have in fact roots in the Classical Arabic language. This makes *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* a work of special interest, because not many works have been composed in the same vein, as will be shown below. Since al-Maġribī did not have many examples which he could follow, it is interesting to know more about his motives for writing this work, and his methodology: what kind of words he discusses, how he examines these words, and whether he is successful in his investigations.

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[1] I thank Dr. Humphrey Davies and the editors of this volume for their valuable comments on an earlier version of this paper.

[2] Or: *luġāt*. Both titles are used, and it is unclear which one the author preferred. However, the work has become known generally as *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr ʿan kalām ʾahl Miṣr*, so I will use this title.

[3] The only known manuscript of *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr*, the autograph, is kept at the library of the Oriental Faculty of St. Petersburg State University, Russia (MS O. 778). The manuscript was brought to St. Petersburg by the Egyptian scholar Muḥammad ʿAyyād aṭ-Ṭanṭāwī (1810–1861) when he came to Russia to teach Arabic at the St. Petersburg University. After Ṭanṭāwī's death these manuscripts became part of the collection of the University Library. The manuscript is a first draft from the hand of al-Maġribī, written between February and September 1606 AD (see fol. 133a). In its present form it consists of 134 folios, only around half of its original size. *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* was published in facsimile, with an introduction and indices, by ʿAbd as-Salām Aḥmad ʿAwwād, Moscow, 1968. A text edition and critical study of the work are presently being prepared by the author of this article. See Zack (2001:47) for more information on the details of the manuscript.

2. *The author*

Yūsuf al-Maġribī is a rather obscure person in literary history. He was born in Cairo in the 1560s AD[4] into a humble family of North African origin. He first worked as a sword belt manufacturer in his uncle's workshop, then briefly as a trader of textiles, before joining the Azhar University.[5] Unfortunately, little is known about his further career, except that he held a *waḏīfa*, of which he does not give further details.[6]

In *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* al-Maġribī refers to ten other works from his hand, none of which have come down to us. Among these there are a translation from Persian of the introductory verses (*dībāǧa*) of Saʿdī's *Bustān*.[7] Al-Maġribī mentions that he is still working on a translation of the *Gulistān* of the same author.[8] He also refers to a translation of Turkish *murabbaʿāt*,[9] and an 'arrangement' (*naḏm*) of al-Ḥarīrī's *Durrat al-ġawwāṣ*.[10] Al-Maġribī was also a poet, of which he gives ample illustration in *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr*. Al-Xafāǧī (d. 1659), who was a friend of al-Maġribī, mentions in his *Rayḥānat al-ʾalibbāʾ wa-zahrat al-ḥayāt ad-dunyā* (33), that al-Maġribī had produced a *dīwān* of poetry, entitled *aḏ-Ḏahab al-Yūsufī*.[11]

2.1 *Al-Maġribī's reasons for writing* Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr

Al-Maġribī mentions his reasons for writing *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* in the introduction. He aimed at:

بيان ألفاظ يحكم الظاهر بخطائها والحال أنها صواب، وكلمات تظهر صحّتها ولم توافق ما عليه ذوو الألباب (1a,4–10).[12]

[4] See ʿAwwād (1968:6).

[5] See *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* (fols. 70a–71a).

[6] See *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* (fol. 51a).

[7] See *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* (fol. 109b).

[8] See *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* (fol. 109b).

[9] See *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* (fol. 91b). A *murabbaʿ* is a poem with the rhyme scheme *aaaa, bbba, ccca*, etc.

[10] See *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* (fols. 3a, 8b, and 9a). *Durrat al-ġawwāṣ fī ʾawhām al-xawāṣṣ* by al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī (d. 1122) is a specimen of the *Laḥn al-ʿāmma* literature, of which more will be said below.

[11] For more information on the dialectal poetry in *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr*, see Frolova (1995).

[12] I have taken the liberty of adjusting the spelling of quotations from *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* to present-day standards, with the exception of the dialectal parts.

clarifying words which appear to be wrong, while the fact is that they are correct; and other words which appear to be correct, but the intellectuals do not agree about it,[13]

and:

أن يرتب هذا الكتاب على أبهج ترتيب، ويهذب ما يقع من عوام أهل مصر بأن يرجّعه للصواب وهذا هو التّعريب، معترفا من القاموس و العُباب، مبيّنا لما حكم بخطائه أنه صواب (2a,8–11).

to arrange this book in the most splendid way, and improve what is said by the common people of Egypt, by relating it to the correct form, which is the form as it occurs in the [classical] Arabic language, relying on *al-Qāmūs* and *al-ʿUbāb*,[14] and determining of what is considered to be wrong, that it is correct,

and:

وكل من هذين أي نظم الألفاظ المشتركة وتطبيق الألفاظ الذي يظهر خطأها على الصّواب ما صنعه أحد في علمي .وانما الحريري في درة الغواص يبيّن أوهام الخواص وغالبها يقبل الأجوبة (2b,18–3a,2).

to the best of my knowledge neither of these, i.e. the arrangement of joint words[15] and the application of the words which appear to be wrong to their correct form, has been done before by anybody. However, al-Ḥarīrī demonstrates the errors of the elite in his *Durrat al-ġawwāṣ*, and the majority of these errors need a reply,

and fol. 3a, line 6–12:

سبب هذا الصّنع أن بعض المتشدقين سمع من بعض الأصحاب ألفاظا فصار يهزؤ به ويسخر منه مع أنها تحتمل الصواب مثل فلان خرج باقعة في الشيء الفلاني وسمع عند لعبة الشطرنج رسيله يقول مِرماد فضحك عليه و انما المرماد من الرمد وكأنه يقول له ما رأيت في هذا الدست فاستخرت اللّه في ذلك.

the reason for this work is that a boaster heard one of his friends say certain expressions, so he started to make fun of him and to ridicule him, although they convey the correct meaning, like 'so and so turned out to be a sly fox (*bāqiʿa*) in this or that case'; and he heard his messenger say *mrmād*[16] during a chess-game so he laughed at him, but

[13] Although the sentence *kalimāt . . . al-ʾalbāb* seems grammatically incorrect to me, the meaning is clear.

[14] *al-ʿUbāb az-zāxir wa-l-lubāb al-fāxir* by Raḍī d-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaġānī. In spite of this intention, al-Maġribī does not quote from *al-ʿUbāb* a single time in the part of the work that is left to us.

[15] *muštarak*: al-Maġribī means 'words which have more than one meaning'. In the paragraph before this quotation, al-Maġribī discussed the different meanings of the verb *ʾaʿraba* (see fol. 2a,16–20).

[16] Very often al-Maġribī does not vocalize the dialect words. Where the vocalisation is not clear, I did not add vowels.

> *mrmād* comes from *ramad* 'inflammation of the eye', as if he says to him: 'I did not see in this game',[17] so I asked God for proper guidance.

When reading *Durrat al-ġawwāṣ*, al-Maġribī realised that certain words considered incorrect did in fact not deviate from Classical Arabic. Furthermore, the people who used this kind of language were being laughed at. Therefore al-Maġribī felt the need to correct this injustice.

Attacking the language of certain people, as in *Durrat al-ġawwāṣ*, was not an uncommon phenomenon. Works of this genre, generally known by the name *laḥn al-ʿāmma*[18] 'errors of language made by the common people', already existed in the second century AH.[19] Its design was "to correct deviations by reference to the contemporary linguistic norm, as determined by the purists".[20]

Al-Maġribī borrows some of the terminology used in the *laḥn al-ʿāmma* literature, e.g. he introduces the dialect word with *yaqūlūna* 'they say', and the correct form (if he establishes that the dialect form is not 'correct') by *wa-ṣ-ṣawāb* . . . 'whereas the norm is . . .'.[21] This could be an indication that al-Maġribī got his inspiration for *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* from the *laḥn al-ʿāmma* literature. It is known that he was familiar with at least one specimen of the genre, viz. al-Ḥarīrī's *Durrat al-ġawwāṣ*. Nevertheless, al-Maġribī's purpose was the opposite of that of the *laḥn al-ʿāmma* literature: to *defend* the colloquial language, instead of attacking it. He introduces a word without prejudice, and *then* investigates whether the word is 'correct' Arabic or not. However, this positive attitude of al-Maġribī towards the dialect does not mean that he abstains completely from pointing out 'errors' in the language of the Egyptians.

Maṭar (1966:56) refers to some authors who have devoted part of

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[17] Apparently this was an exclamation used when somebody lost a piece or was being checkmated. I did not find *mrmād* in any dictionary, either Classical or colloquial. However, al-Xafāǧī mentions it in his *Šifāʾ al-Ġalīl* (218):

مرمّد (. . .) هو الذي لا يحس والعامة تقول له مرماد ولا أعرف له أصلا

> *murammid* [. . .] is somebody who does not sense, and the common people call it *mrmād*, and I do not know its origin.

[18] This expression, or the similar *laḥn al-ʿawāmm*, is often used in titles of works of this genre, although different titles can be found as well.

[19] According to Pellat (1986:607) the *Kitāb mā talḥan fīhi l-ʿawāmm* or *Risāla fī laḥn al-ʿāmma*, attributed to al-Kisāʾī (d. 189/805), is probably the first work of the genre.

[20] See Pellat (1986:605).

[21] Compare Pellat (1986:605).

their *laḥn al-ʿāmma* work to words that were considered to be incorrect, while they are not,[22] as well as to authors who devoted a *complete* work to the dialectal words that can be retraced to Classical Arabic. Besides *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr*, these are *Baḥr al-ʿawwām fīmā ʾaṣāba fīhi l-ʿawāmm* by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ḥanbalī (d. 971/1563), and *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab fīmā wāfaqa luġa ʾahl Miṣr min luġāt al-ʿArab* by Ibn ʾAbī s-Surūr.[23] Ibn ʾAbī s-Surūr's work is an abbreviated version of *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr*, in which all words that do not have an Arabic root, as well as all anecdotes, historical information, and so on, have been omitted.[24]

Al-Maġribī does not include the word *ʿāmma* or *ʿawāmm* in the title of his book. He speaks of *kalām ʾahl Miṣr* 'the language of the people of Egypt', without specifying any group of people. However, al-Maġribī changed the title during the writing process. The original title of the work was *al-Faḍl al-ʿāmm wa-qāmūs al-ʿawāmm* 'The general benefit concerning the dictionary of the common people'. It is to be noted that the word *ʿawāmm* was used often in the genre of the 'language errors' literature. However, not always the *ʿawāmm* were meant, but rather the *xawāṣṣ*. Although the language mistakes of the elite were discussed, their feelings were spared by referring to the *ʿawāmm* in the titles of these works. Furthermore Pellat (1986:605–606) argues, that the word *ʿāmma* did not indicate the lowest classes of society, but rather the middle classes. Al-Maġribī does not give a clear indication whose speech he is describing. Usually when he discusses a word, he does not mention a specific group of people by whom the word is used. However, sometimes he mentions explicitly: 'This can be heard from the *xawāṣṣ*', 'this occurs among the *ʿawāmm*', 'this is heard from peasants, from women', etc. From this I conclude that the words that do not have such a specification were

[22] E.g. Ibn Hišām al-Laxmī, Ibn Makkī in *Taṯqīf al-lisān*, and Ibn as-Sayyid al-Baṭalyūsī in *al-Iqtiḍāb*.

[23] There is no agreement on the exact dates of birth and death of Ibn ʾAbī s-Surūr. Statements of his date of death vary between 1060/1650 and 1087/1676, see Rafeq (1975:25–27).

[24] Ibn ʾAbī s-Surūr's abbreviation is based on the material of the complete manuscript of *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr*, which is fortunate because it helps us to reconstruct some of the entries which were lost. Unfortunately, Ibn ʾAbī s-Surūr's decision to leave out everything not Classical Arabic, deprives dialectologists of the most interesting aspect of the work. One thing we have to give Ibn ʾAbī s-Surūr credit for is that he checked the entries of *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* in other dictionaries not consulted by al-Maġribī, like Ibn Manḏūr's *Lisān al-ʿArab*.

words used by all layers of society, which might also be the reason why al-Maġribī decided to change the title of the book.

A last point in which *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* differs from the *Laḥn al-ʿāmma* literature, is the fact that al-Maġribī does not only mention mistakes and deviations made in Classical Arabic, but also pure dialect words whose meaning cannot be found in any Classical Arabic source, as well as words that have a foreign origin. Furthermore, al-Maġribī includes plenty of additional information, for instance, about Egyptian culture, historical events, people he knew, poetry, and so on.

3. *Methodology*

As mentioned before, the first title al-Maġribī gave to his work was *al-Faḍl al-ʿāmm wa-qāmūs al-ʿawāmm*. The word *qāmūs* 'dictionary' implies an attempt at an exhaustive word list, with an explanation of the meaning of every word. Al-Maġribī does not follow the main principle of listing all the words and giving their meanings. For instance, he does not mention the personal pronouns in separate entries. Also many simple, everyday objects are left out. Until now it is not clear to me which criteria al-Maġribī used to select the words he discussed. From the intentions he expressed, it might be concluded he would only comment about the words that were believed to be incorrect, while they are correct Arabic. However, this is not the case, either, since he discusses many words which he proves to be not correct Classical Arabic, or which are not Arabic at all. It seems most probable that al-Maġribī discussed those words about which doubts existed, whatever the result of his research might be. Also his love for anecdotes and poetry might play a role in his choice of material. If he had composed a clever *mawwāl* about a certain word, it would be tempting for him to include this word in his word list in order to demonstrate his poetical skills.

Sometimes al-Maġribī mentions a word followed by his opinion on its correctness, referring to *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, without explaining the meaning of the word. However, it remains unclear whether al-Maġribī considered these words to be generally known, or believed their meaning was the same as the one given in *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, and therefore did not find it necessary to explain them.

For example, the entry *kittān* 'linen' (117b,9–10) omits to give a definition to the word *kittān* and simply corrects its form:

يقولون كتان بكسر الكاف وانما هو كتان بفتحها.

They say *kittān* with *kasr* of the *kāf*, but it is *kattān* with *fatḥ*.

Fortunately, the meaning of the word *kattān* is known, but when the word or expression is not known to us, as in the following example, it becomes very difficult to find out its meaning:

يقولون فلان ما عنده اداوة ناس ولم يعلم. قال[25] الإداوة بالكسر المطهرة جمع أداوى كفتاوى والأداة الآلة جمعه أدوات[26] فلعل قولهم اداوة ناس أصله أدوات فغيرت (123a,6–8)

They say: so-and-so has no *ʾidāwt nās,* and this is unknown. He says: ‘*ʾidāwa* with *kasr* is a washroom, pl. *ʾadāwā*, like *fatāwā*, and *ʾadāh* is a tool, pl. *ʾadawāt*’. So perhaps the origin of their expression *ʾidāwt nās* is *ʾadawāt*, which was subject to a change.

Unfortunately, in most cases al-Maġribī does not vocalize the entries of his word list, which makes it difficult to determine how they should be pronounced. Another problem is the spelling used, especially the *hamza*, as well as the placement of diacritical points, which is sometimes not very accurate.

Al-Maġribī considers any word correct Arabic if it can be retraced to an Arabic root, while its meaning has a resemblance, no matter how distant, to the meaning of this Arabic root. The root should not have undergone any phonetic changes, such as a change from interdental fricative to dental stop.[27] Al-Maġribī checks the correctness of a word mainly by referring to *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* of al-Fīrūzābādī. He also quotes from the *Qurʾān* and sometimes from the *ḥadīṯ* to prove the validity of a word.

If a word does not have an Arabic root, al-Maġribī normally states that the word is ‘unknown’ to him, meaning that he does not find it in the Classical Arabic dictionaries. Al-Maġribī knew Persian and Turkish, as is obvious from the translations he had made (see above). Therefore he is able to trace back some of the dialect words to these languages. When a word is derived from another language like Turkish or Persian, al-Maġribī does not label it ‘incorrect’, which is a sign that he cannot be regarded as a purist who wished to keep the Arabic language ‘clean’ of foreign influences.

[25] This is the usual way in which al-Maġribī refers to al-Fīrūzābādī’s *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*.

[26] See *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (1133a).

[27] For instance *miṯl* → *mitl*, see *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* (fol. 91b,18).

Al-Maġribī's treatment of the interdentals will serve as an example of his attitude towards language changes. It is known that in al-Maġribī's time, the interdentals had disappeared from the dialect of Cairo.[28] Although al-Maġribī does not give a general statement concerning this matter, he gives evidence of the shift from interdentals to dentals in several entries. The only exception is when on fol. 11a al-Maġribī writes by mistake *faṣl al-bāʾ al-muṯannāh* 'Chapter of the *bāʾ* with two diacritical points' and then changes it into *al-muwaḥḥada* 'with one diacritical point'. He then adds the following comment in the margin:

المحدثين بالتاء المثناة فوق أعني بهم العو ام

> "The people who say the *tāʾ* with two diacritical points on top, with them I mean the *ʿawāmm*",

acknowledging that the shift *ṯāʾ* → *tāʾ* had indeed taken place.

Some examples of the loss of interdentals from *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* are:

> – يقولون على الشجر اتل بالمثناه وانما هو اثل بالمثلثة "they call the tree *atl* 'tamarisk' with two diacritical points, while it is *aṯl* with three points" (63a,19);
> – يقولون توم بالمثناة وانما هو ثوم بالمثلثة "they say *twm*[29] 'garlic' with two points while it is *ṯawm* with three points" (96a,7–8);
> – ويقولون زرق الطائر وانما هو ذرق بالذ ال المعجمة من هذا الباب "and they say *zrq*[30] 'bird droppings', however, it is *ḏrq* with the *ḏāl* with one diacritical point of this chapter"[31] (40a,8–9).

The following fragment is also interesting, because it is a typical example of al-Maġribī's method:

ويقولون حنضل على الحنظل بالظاء المشالة وليس له وجه فان الحنضل الغدير الصغير
والحنضلة الماء في الصخرة[32] (71b,1–2)

> They say *ḥanḍal* 'colocynth' to *ḥanḏ̣al* with the *ḏ̣āʾ* with a stroke, and this has no cognate [in the literary language], because *ḥanḍal* is a small brook, and *ḥanḍala* is water in a rock.

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[28] Proofs of this can be found in earlier texts than *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr*, see Davies (1981:66).

[29] It is not clear whether al-Maġribī means *tōm* or *tawm*. Often when he vocalises a word which originally had a diphthong, he places a *fatḥa* on top, e.g. يادَوْبه *yā dawbu* 'hardly' (fol. 13b), nowadays *ya dōb* or *ya dōbak*. But as Blanc (1981:195–196) points out, this "may or may not stand for diphthongs".

[30] The word is not vocalized; al-Maġribī also does not mention anything about the pronunciation of the *qāf* at his time.

[31] I.e. the chapter *qāf*. Note that *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* follows the so-called 'rhyme arrangement' which arranges roots according to their last radical. Probably al-Maġribī took this arrangement from *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, of which he was a great admirer.

[32] See *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (890a).

Although al-Maġribī realises that حنضل is derived from حنظل, he still insists on looking up the former in *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* and, not surprisingly, arrives at the conclusion that the description does not fit.

There are other cases in which al-Maġribī *does* write interdentals, although this does not implicate they were actually pronounced as interdentals; for instance:

– قِثا (9b,3) *qiṯṯa* 'Armenian cucumber' (note also the *kasra*, while Davies [1981:437] attests *ʾattāya* for the late 17th century), where one would have expected قتا (nowadays pronounced *ʾatta* in Cairo, see Hinds & Badawi 1986:686a);
– نظيف صليف (28a,11) *nḏ̣īf ṣlīf* 'spotless', instead of present-day *niḍīf*;
– رذل ككتف (75b,4) *raḏil ka-katif*[33] 'despicable'.

Sometimes, al-Maġribī's explanation of a word is not correct, mainly because he does not realise (or does not like to admit) that the word has been subjected to certain phonetic changes.[34] A good example is the word *milʿaqa* 'spoon', which became *miʿlaqa* in the Egyptian dialect of al-Maġribī's time (see fol. 49b), and is nowadays pronounced *maʿlaʾa*. Instead of admitting immediately that in the word *miʿlaqa* metathesis of the *ʿayn* and *lām* has taken place, he gives an explanation that the word has something to do with the verb *ʿaliqa* 'to hang'; he mentions only as an afterthought that it is said to be derived from *milʿaqa*:

ويقولون معلقة لآلة يؤكل بها ويشرب ولم أرها في القامو س و الذي فيه رجل ذو معلقة كمرحلة يتعلق بكل ما أصابه[35] انتهى ويمكن بالقياس أن تكون الآلة مِعلقه بالكسر تعلق الطعام و الشر اب أو يقال أنها ملعقه بتقديم اللام من اللعق.

They say *miʿlaqa* to the tool with which they eat and drink. I did not find it in *al-Qāmūs*, but it says: 'a man endowed with *maʿlaqa*, like *marḥala*, hangs on to everything he obtains', end of the quotation. So perhaps in analogy to this the instrument *miʿlaqa* with *kasr* hangs on to the food and drink; or it is said that it is *milʿaqa* with preceding *lām* from 'licking'.

So although al-Maġribī knew the correct explanation of the word *miʿlaqa*, in his eagerness to prove the correctness of the Egyptian language, he preferred to retrace the word to the root *ʿ-l-q*, and to

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[33] Sometimes al-Maġribī uses this method of mentioning a well-known word with the same vocal pattern as the explained word, instead of vocalizing the word.
[34] See for instance the example زحلفة and its explanation as mentioned by Ḥiǧāzī (1969:119).
[35] See *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (820a).

make up a far-fetched explanation, than to admit that the Egyptians had 'corrupted' the word *milʿaqa*. Later he mentions the word again:

وقد علمت أن قول أهل مصر معلقة لايصح بخلاف قول أهل مكة مِلعقة بكسر الميم كما سمعته منهم فى مكة وغيرها (54b,3–4)

> I learned that the word *miʿlaqa* of the Egyptians is incorrect, contrary to the word *milʿaqa* with *kasr* of the *mīm* of the people of Mecca, as I heard them say in Mecca[36] and other places.

3.1 *Entries and their context*

Al-Maġribī often presents the entries in context by way of example. The following entry will illustrate how useful such a context can be:

ويقولون وَهُم العوام الصرف ما احنا من دى القَبَل بفتح القاف و الباء ويريدون معنى القبيل أي من الجماعة الذين يفعلون مثل هذا (88b,13–15).

> The pure common folk say, 'we are not of this type (*qabal*)', with *fatḥ* of the *qāf* and the *bāʾ*. They mean *qabīl*, i.e., belonging to the group of people who behave like this.

The word explained here is *qabal*, and the context in dialect is *mā iḥnā min dī-l-qabal*. This sentence contains the words *iḥnā* 'we' and *dī* 'this, that', both of which al-Maġribī does not mention as separate entries in his dictionary. When looking at the demonstrative *dī* it can be noted that it is placed before the word it belongs to, instead of after it, as is the use in present day Egyptian Arabic, and that *dī* is feminine, while the word it belongs to, is masculine. Vrolijk (1998:151) points out in his study of the *Nuzhat an-nufūs wa-muḍḥik al-ʿabūs*,[37] that preposed *di*, uninflected for number and person, was the most common demonstrative at Ibn Sūdūn's time. Also in Yūsuf aš-Širbīnī's *Hazz al-quḥūf*, which is a work from the 17th century, preposed *di* can be found with both masculine and feminine nouns.[38] In modern Cairo Arabic preposed demonstratives only occur in fixed phrases and certain exclamations.[39] However, this single example in *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* is not enough to establish a general rule for this period.

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[36] Al-Maġribī went on pilgrimage to Mecca with his father when he was a child, see *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* (fol. 70b).

[37] This is a work from the 15th century, containing colloquial material, by ʿAlī Ibn Sūdūn al-Bašbuġāwī (Cairo 810/1407 – Damascus 868/1464).

[38] See Davies (1981:162–163).

[39] See Woidich (1992:216).

Unfortunately, one has to ask oneself sometimes whether al-Maġribī's examples always reflect the speech of that day, since he regularly uses classicisms in his examples, as in the following:

ويقولون ايش هذه الخُزَعْبَلات أي الأمور التي لا أصل لها (72a,5–6)

> They say: what are these *xuzaʿbalāt* 'superstitions', which means these things which have no foundation.

The entry here is the word *xuzaʿbalāt*, and the Egyptian Arabic element is the interrogative *ʾayš* / *ʾēš* 'what', nowadays *ē* in Cairo, but in many parts of Egypt still pronounced as *ʾēš*. Note the use of the classicism *hāḏihī* in this example.

3.2 *Inclusion of special terminology and slang*

Al-Maġribī makes an interesting comment at the beginning of the book concerning children's language:

> في لغة الأولاد عند إرادة مشيهم تَاتَا و العحيب أنني عند الكتابة توقفت في اثباته هنا وقلت لغة الأطفال لا تكتب فرأيت القاموس قال التأتأة تردّدُ التاتاءِ في التاء ودعاء التيس للسفاد وهي أيضا مشي الطفل.[40]

> In the language of children, when they want to walk, they say *tātā*. The amazing thing is, that when I wrote this, I hesitated to register it here, and said 'The language of children cannot be written'. Then I saw that *al-Qāmūs* says: '*taʾtaʾa* is the repetition of the stammerer of the letter *tāʾ*, and the call of the he-goat to copulate, and it is also the walking of children'.

It is interesting that *tāta* is still used nowadays in Egypt by little children with the meaning of 'walking'. However, it seems that al-Maġribī was not convinced by this inclusion of children's language in *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, because this is the only instance he mentions.

Striking is also al-Maġribī's interest in slang, especially insults and abuses, of which I counted around 22, and which would make a topic for an interesting article in itself. Just to mention one example:

يقولون في السب سخام و لطام (100a,2)

> They say when they swear: filth and slaps.

Luṭām 'slopping' is probably added to the curse *suxām* 'filth' because it has the same pattern. *suxām* is still used nowadays; both Taymūr

[40] *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* (fol. 4b,1–5). The quotation is from *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (34c).

(2001:IV, 96) and Hinds & Badawi (1986:403b) mention the variety *suxām iṭ-ṭīn* used as an adjective ('rotten'), while Taymūr also mentions the variety *suxām wi-hbāb* 'filth and soot'.

3.3 *Words from outside Cairo*

As mentioned earlier, al-Maġribī was an inhabitant of Cairo. As such, he used to take his examples from everyday speech of the Cairenes. However, sometimes he explicitly mentions that certain words are not from Cairo. These could be from the countryside, e.g.:

ويقع من أهل الأرياف على الفم الحنك (57b,1)

The people of the countryside say *ḥanak* for mouth.

The word *ḥanak* 'mouth' is still used nowadays in rural Egypt, while in Cairo it is considered vulgar.

فلان هلف أي جبان ويقع من أهل الأرياف ولم أعلمه (35b,16–17)

So-and-so is *hilf*, that is, a coward, and this is said by the people of the countryside; I do not know it.

I also did not find the word *hilf* in any dictionary. However, two informants told me it means 'tall and strong, but with a weak personality', like in *huwwa ṭawīl wi hilf*. Both classified *hilf* as *šaʿbī* 'vulgar'.

Sometimes al-Maġribī also mentions words he heard from people from other parts of the Middle East, such as the word *milʿaqa* 'spoon' (54b,4), as mentioned above.

3.4 *Loan words*

Here will follow some examples of words which al-Maġribī considered to be of foreign origin:

ويقولون كتا على شيء من المأكول قرين الخشكنان و الظاهر أنه غير عربي لأن الثانى
غيرعربي بل فارسي مركب الخشك هو الناشف و النان الخبز فكأنهم قالوا الخبز الناشف
وعندهم خشكه فلاو الرز الناشف رأيته وأكلت منه عند أحبابنا الأعجام أفندي محمد
رضا وإخوانه. (10a,6–10)

They say *ktā* for a type of food connected with *xšknān*. Apparently it is not Arabic, because the second is not Arabic, but Persian, composed of *xšk*, which means 'dry', and *nān*, which means 'bread', as if they say: dry bread. They also have *xskh flāw*, dry rice. I saw it and ate of it at our friends' the Persians Muḥammad Riḍā and his brothers.

The entry here is *ktā*. Al-Maġribī only mentions that it is food, but without details as to what kind of food. Then he proceeds to explain the word *xšknān* and forgets completely about the word *ktā*, hereby leaving its meaning and origin a mystery to his readers.[41]

Al-Maġribī mentions *xšknān* at another place, where it has the form *xštnānk* (see fol. 58a,4). This is in accordance with Vrolijk (1998:30), who mentions *xuškanānak* and *xuštanānak*, which he describes as "a confection prepared with flour and almond paste, covered with white sugar".

Al-Maġribī does not always give the correct etymology of a word:

يقولون ويسمع كثيرا من الترك على الشمع موم ويتوهم أنه غير عربي وهو عربي
قال في القاموس الموم بالضم الشمع.[42] (106a,18–19)

> They say *mūm* for candles; this is often heard from the Turks. It is wrongly believed that it is not Arabic, while it is Arabic. He says in *al-Qāmūs*: '*mūm* with *ḍamm* means candles'.

Al-Xafāǧī has an interesting entry about the word *mūm* in his *Šifāʾ al-Ġalīl*, p. 202:

موم بمعنى الشمع فارسي (. . .) وكلام القاموس يوهم خلافه وهو وهم

> *Mūm* with the meaning of 'candles' is Persian, [. . .] and the words of *al-Qāmūs* make believe that this is not the case, which is a delusion.

Although al-Maġribī with his extensive knowledge of languages should have recognised the word *mūm* as un-Arabic, he insists on following the explanation of al-Fīrūzābādī. Al-Maġribī admired *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* so much, that he never questioned its authority. Whenever another dictionary contradicts *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, al-Maġribī concludes it to be wrong.

As examples of words originating from Greek, Al-Maġribī mentions the following:

ويقولون علم الموسيقى بفتح القاف لنفس العلم وبالكسر للشخص. هذا على ما سمعته
ولم أنظره فى كتاب من كتب اللغة فلعله يوناني (52b, margin)

> They say *ʿilm al-mūsīqā* 'the science of music', with *fatḥ* of the *qāf*, for the science of this name, and with *kasr* [i.e. *mūsīqī*] for the person. This is according to what I heard. I have not seen it in any of the language books, so perhaps it is Greek.

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[41] كته *kate* means 'rice boiled in water', see Junker & Alavi (1968:595a).
[42] See *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (1047a).

Indeed this entry is not found in *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*. The conclusion of al-Maġribī that the word is Greek is correct. The second example is the following:

يقولون اهيا شراهيا قال وهو خطأ وانما هو اهيا بكسر الهمزة اشر اهيا بفتح الهمزة والشين أي الأزلي الذي لم يزل يونانية والناس يغلطون فيقولون اهيا شراهيا وهو خطأ على ما يزعمه أحبار اليهود[43]

They say *ʾahyā šrāhya*. He says: 'this is wrong; it should be *ʾihyā* with *kasr* of the *hamza, ʾašar ʾihyā* with *fatḥ* of the *hamza* and the *šīn*, meaning 'the eternal one who has not ceased to be', which is Greek. The people say incorrectly *ʾahya šrāhya*, and this is wrong according to what the Jewish rabbis declare'.

According to ʿAbd at-Tawwāb (2000:365), this expression derives from the Hebrew אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה, meaning "I am who I am". ʿAbd at-Tawwāb states that al-Maġribī corrected the pronunciation of this expression, although he did not know Hebrew, and that al-Maġribī was under the false impression that the expression is Greek. The fact is that al-Maġribī did *not* correct the pronunciation of this expression; rather, it was corrected in *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (1124a), from which the whole entry is taken (almost) literally. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb mentions that the formula is used in magic, a fact both *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* and al-Maġribī leave unmentioned.

3.5 *Words of unknown origin*

Sometimes al-Maġribī did not succeed in finding the origin of a word, because he looked it up under the wrong root, as in the following example:

ويقولون فلان هفيّه أي عاجز في القاموس هذه اللفظة قال الو اهف سادن الكنيسة عمله الوهافة بالكسر والفتح والوهفية كأثفية والهفيّة [. . .][44] انتهى وفي المختصر الو اهف سادن البيعة كأنه مقلوب وافه فلم يظهر معنى هفيّة فأنظره في المطولات. (35a,19–35b,3).

They say: 'so-and-so is *hfiyya*', i.e. weak. This word is menioned in *al-Qāmūs*; he says: '*wāhif* is the sexton of the church, and his work is called *wihāfa/wahāfa*, with *kasr* and *fatḥ*, and *wuhfiyya*, like *ʾuṯfiyya*, and *hifiyya* [. . .]', end of quotation. And in the *Muxtaṣar*: 'the *wāhif* is the sexton of the church, as if it is *wāfih* "clergyman" reversed'. So the

[43] *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* (fol. 121b,13–16). The quotation is from *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (1124a).
[44] *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (775b–c).

meaning of *hfiyya* does not appear, so look it up in the detailed dictionaries".[45]

This entry is found under the root *w-h-f*. Clearly al-Maġribī confuses the word *hifiyya* of the root *w-h-f* with the word *hfiyya*, which could be retraced to the root *h-f-y* 'to be weak with hunger'. The word *hfiyya* 'weak' is not mentioned in the entry *h-f-y* in *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, although it mentions هفا الرجل: زلّ، وجاع, and والهفو: المرء الخفيف.[46] Al-Maġribī mentions the same word again, with a slightly different meaning ('coward'), this time in the appropriate chapter *h-f-y*:

يقولون فلان هفيّة أي جبان وليس بهذا اللفظ في اللغة قال هفا هفوا وهفوة وهفوانا أسرع و طائر بجناحيه خفق و الرجل زل وجاع والهفو الرء الخفيف والأهفى الحمقى من الناس (132b,10–13)[47]

They say: 'so-and-so is *hfiyya*', i.e. a coward, and it does not exist with this meaning in the [Classical Arabic] language. He says: '*hafā hafwan* and *hafwatan* and *hafwānan*: he hurries, and a bird with its wings: flutters, and a man: he is despicable, and hungry, and *hafw* is a light man, and *ʾahfā* are the simpletons of the people'.

Also the following word of Coptic origin was, understandably, not retraced correctly by al-Maġribī:

ويقولون بكله لوعاء يكون فيه الماء لأجل الاستنجاء ولم يعلم قال البكلة بالكسر الطبيعة ومعنى البكل الخلط (66a,16–19)[48]

They say *bkla* to the vessel for washing one's backside,[49] and it is not known. He said: '*bikla* with *kasr* means "nature", and the meaning of *bakl* is 'mixture'".

Behnstedt (1981:85) mentions the following in his *Weitere koptische Lehnwörter*: "*bukla*: grosser runder Wasserkrug zum Transport des Wassers" (Fayyūm/Bani Swēf); s. Winkler (36) T. 25/3. Anderenorts (Delta, Oberäg.) "kleiner Wasserkrug, Milchkrug".

Sometimes a word gets the label 'unknown' for rather mysterious reasons, as in the following example:

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[45] Al-Maġribī very often wrote comments like 'look this up' in the margins of the manuscript, and sometimes changed his opinion on a word when he found evidence for it at a later stage. A good example is the word *rāyib* (fol. 13b,10) 'curdled milk' which he first classified as 'unknown', but later found back in *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*.

[46] See *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (1211a).

[47] See *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (1211a–b).

[48] See *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (870c).

[49] For this translation of the word *istinǧāʾ* see Hinds & Badawi (1986:851a).

يقولون في أنفها خزام ولم يعلم بهذا اللفظ قال خزمه يخزمه شكه والبعير جعل في جانب منخره الخزامة ككتابة (97a,1–3)[50]

> They say: 'there is a *xzām* in her nose', and this is not known with this word. He said: '*xazamahu yaxzimuhu* means he pierced him, and the camel: he put a *xizāma* "nose ring", like *kitāba*, in the side of his nose'.

Although *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* mentions the meaning 'nose ring' for *xizāma*, still al-Maġribī regarded the word as unknown. The reason could be that he objected to the application to women of a word that refers to camels, which would indeed be very considerate of him.

4. *Conclusion*

Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr ʿan kalām ʾahl Miṣr is a work on the Arabic language as spoken in Egypt during the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century, in which the author Yūsuf al-Maġribī attempts to defend the use of certain colloquial expressions. Although al-Maġribī was inspired by the so-called *laḥn al-ʿāmma* 'errors of the common people' literature, he chose an opposite approach. His opinion was that not everything that does not conform to Classical Arabic, is by definition incorrect, contrary to what most grammarians assumed. He sought to prove that many dialect words had in fact their roots in the Arabic language, although they had sometimes undergone slight, or even considerable, alterations. He relied heavily on Fīrūzābādī's *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* for his explanation of dialect words, which sometimes led him to classify a perfectly 'Arabic' word as 'un-Arabic' because *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* does not mention it. He also did not condemn the use of loan words from other languages. Rather, he seemed to consider this as something natural and enriching to the language. Al-Maġribī's habit of quoting dialect words in context, and of providing background information about many words he discusses, makes *Dafʿ al-ʾiṣr* an invaluable document, not only for linguists, but for every scholar who is interested in the Egypt of this period.

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[50] See *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (993c).

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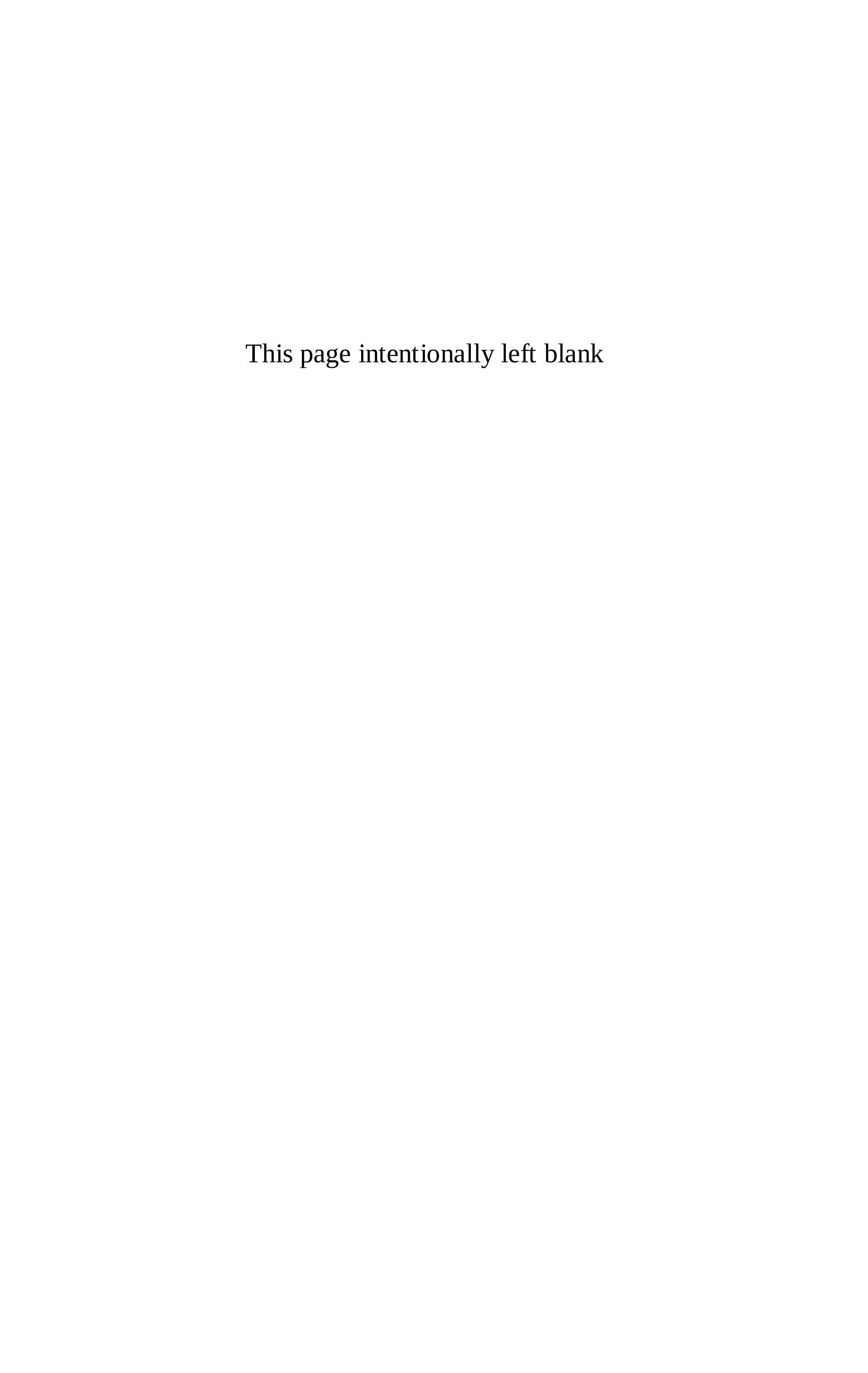
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INDEX OF VARIETIES OF ARABIC

INDEX OF PERSONS

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